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IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen united States of America,



ROBERT MORRIS

11 *Per se* ¹ HAYM SALOMON

From the day of the founding
of the Republic, we have
had no struggle, military
or civil, in which there have
not been citizens of Jewish
faith who played an eminent
part FOR THE HONOR
OF THE NATION.

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT

In the United States the great principle of religious toleration is better understood and more firmly established than in any other nation of the earth. It is for true patriots to insist on the maintainance of the historic purposes of the people of the United States.

*Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard,
"American Contributions to Civilization."*

For the HONOR of the NATION

PATRIOTISM OF THE
AMERICAN JEW

HAILED BY CHRISTIAN HISTORIANS

by

SAMUEL W. McCALL
Governor of Massachusetts

CHARLES W. ELIOT
President Harvard University

WILLIAM T. MANNING
Bishop of New York

JAMES W. GERARD
United States Ambassador

ROBERT A. TAFT
United States Senator

RAY MURPHY
American Legion Commander

EVERETT R. CLINCHY
Director National Conference
of Christians and Jews

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE
Co-chairman Committee Against
Intolerance in America

NEW YORK
PLYMOUTH EDITIONS
1939

My sympathies are with this brilliant race. Centuries ago its nationality was destroyed in Palestine. It was dispersed over the face of the globe. The laws of almost all nations have discriminated against it; and yet it has shown such marvelous vitality that it has made for itself a proud place.

*Samuel W. McCall, House of Representatives,
on the abrogation of the Russian Treaty.*

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EVERY LINE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS

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DEDICATION

“My Country ’Tis of Thee

“Sweet Land of Liberty

“Of Thee I Sing”

**DEFAMATION BRANDED BY EMINENT
CHRISTIANS**

Defamation Branded by Eminent Christians

THIS BOOK'S AIM is public service. There is need for it—a world crisis need for it.

Barbarism—ravenous for cataclysms in ceaseless procession—consolidates its furies against the one least safeguarded of all peoples: the Jewish people . . . retaliation there alluringly slightest, likely loot there richest.

Brazen pretence of justification is that the Jew is, always has been, and forever is bound to be, in every land, in every circumstance, against every other man . . . that, particularly, the Jew is incapable of patriotism.

History's answer to this defaming—American History's answer—composes this volume. It is answer clear, definite, certificated. It is not an answer debatably pleaded by Jews. It is answer spontaneously volunteered by Christians . . . every representation and authentication—every line—written by Christians. And in the quality of these eminent Christians—National preeminent—shines the straightforwardness of topgallant Americanism . . . concerned—supremely concerned—FOR THE HONOR OF THE NATION.

Millions—literally millions!—of human beings today are herded under stigma, whip and bayonet, pauperized, defenceless . . . within the full view of the whole world . . . though throughout the lands from whence hyena politics is thrusting them it is common fame that, for generations on generations, Jews—now pogrommed—have shone in good neighborliness—culture's very leaders in art, music, drama, science, technology, hospitality, benevolence. Diabolism is making a festival.

In contrast how shines America's roster! That record makes this book, brilliant with what is pridelful—attested by names of luster—*every testifier a Christian*. All in unison acclaim what is American experience's knowledge: that Jewish citizenship is good citizenship . . . that out of present refugee extremities welcoming governments—assured by centuries of American loyalties—can gain just such citizenship.

In every aspect, in every detail, this is history, "pure and undefiled." Americanism is here. That's all.

Two great collaborating New Englanders—paragons at research and chronicle, as in spirit—projected this classic: Governor Samuel Walker McCall, leader in the laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, three times elected Governor of Massachusetts, for a score of years a Representative in Congress, and the revered Charles W. Eliot, over half a century President of Harvard University.

High ambitions inspired their study, and they visioned wide influence for the clarifying volume to which they gave so stintlessly of their time and genius—both splendid distinctives to die before there were adequate plans for their completed masterpiece's production . . . this printing thus being for popular circulation an actual original publication. It must stir pride, quicken goodwill, by revealing historic backgrounds not hitherto anywhere at any time so chronicled . . . the great names of Eliot and McCall supplemented now by ones similarly distinguished: Ambassador James W. Gerard, Bishop William T. Manning, American Legion Commander Ray Murphy, Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, George Gordon Battle and Ohio's knightly United States Senator: Robert A. Taft, holding up the torch of understanding.

FOREWORD

WILLIAM THOMAS MANNING, prelate of the Protestant Episcopal Church—English born, but from youth an American—is infused with a public spirit continentally broadening his activities and influence. His career, loyally denominational, has extended from a Pacific Coast curacy—his earliest rectorship in California, whence he transferred to a theologic professorship with the University of the South, reaching New York in 1903, via Pennsylvania and Tennessee pastorates, called to the primate parish of the land: Trinity—to be consecrated at his fifty-fifth birthday, in 1921, as Bishop of the Diocese of New York.

Through intensive experience, thus, he knows the East, West, South, and North—thus is gifted with an All-America understanding, and to great good works for his Church are added lustered contributions to the commonweal. Completion of the majestic Cathedral of St. John will lastingly monument him, even as, in high desert, honors belong to citizenship superbly selfless.

Foreword

BY

WILLIAM T. MANNING

*Protestant Episcopal Bishop
Diocese of New York*

IT IS A SHOCKING THING that there can be in the world today a fresh outbreak of prejudice and persecution against the Jewish people and that there should even be some evidences of this spirit here in our own land. I am glad indeed to speak my word against the manifestation of this spirit anywhere, and especially against any disposition to incite, encourage, or countenance any such spirit in this country. We have, as Americans much to be thankful for but our greatest reason for thankfulness is that we live in a land in which our principle and ideal is that men and women of different races and religious convictions shall live together as fellow citizens in friendship, brotherhood, and full mutual respect.

We are living in a time of world chaos and confusion. World movements are in progress which none of us, a few years ago, would have believed possible, movements which are threatening to engulf the world in the catastrophe and ruin of another World War.

We are seeing now clearly that the choice is

between a world ruled by force and tyranny and fear, whether under the name of Communism, Fascism, or Nazism, or a world ruled—really ruled—by those Divine principles, and ideals for which true religion stands.

For those ideals of Justice, Brotherhood, and Liberty, we hold that Democracy is the noblest political expression which has been conceived in human history. But the only possible foundation for Democracy, the only foundation for those things on which the very life of Democracy depends, moral character, personal uprightness, the sense of duty and responsibility both in the government and in the citizens, is true religion, faith in the living God Who is the Father of us all—and reverence for His law of justice, brotherhood, and love.

Let us all strive to be true to our faith, loyal to our convictions and our consciences, loyal to the Truth as this is revealed and made known to us, but let us remember that all religion, all faith in God whether of Jew or of Christian, if it be real, must draw us nearer to each other in love and brotherhood, for God is the Creator and Father of us all and we cannot come near to Him without coming nearer to each other.

Speaking as a Christian, to my fellow Christians, let me say that in so far as our faith in Christ is real, and to the extent to which it is real, it will banish and drive out of our hearts the spirit of prejudice, or intolerance, and will fill us with the spirit of brotherhood and good will towards

all men of whatever race, or color, or nation, or creed. This is the very test of a Christian. Our faith as Christians must give us the spirit not merely of tolerance—that is not enough—it must give us the spirit of appreciation, and respect, and brotherly love towards all men.

And to our Jewish brethren, speaking as a Bishop of the Christian Church let me say that all true Christians must realize their immeasurable debt to the Jewish race and religion and must dwell with deep and grateful appreciation on the contributions which the Jewish race has made to the religious history of the world and to its culture and progress, and that all true Christians regret and deplore the wrongs and cruelties which the Jewish race has so often suffered—even at the hands of those who called themselves Christians. As Christians we are amazed, and shocked beyond expression, to see that such wrongs can still be committed in this day in which we are living.

In our own land, or in any other land, any man who is anti-Jewish in his acts or feelings is at the same moment anti-Christian.

Such a spirit is contrary to the spirit of God and to all that is high and noble and true in man.

Racial and religious persecution, or the fostering of racial and religious prejudice and ill-will, is contrary to all civilized ideals, and to every principle of the Christian religion.

The crimes against justice and brotherhood and human liberty which we are witnessing today are an evil aftermath of the World War. They

cannot last. Whether they are committed in the name of Communism, Fascism, or Nazism, they cannot continue permanently, for God is against them and all that is true and God-like in the heart of mankind is against them.

We lift up our prayers with the prayers of our Jewish brethren to the one God and Father of us all that such wrongs against the Jewish people, or any other people, may cease and that the spirit of justice and fellowship and brotherhood may reign among all men.

A CALL TO ACTION

We are aware that human and religious freedom is being attacked by a daring army of Godless philosophies which bid, and in some nations bid successfully, for the loyalties and discipleship of men.

In faith, therefore, we send forth this call. We are convinced that our people, properly informed, will rise to the occasion. We believe they will support us in our belief that the church must redouble rather than relax her efforts in these trying days.

We ask our people to make a strong witness to a troubled world.

The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church

AMERICANISM'S SALUTATION

JAMES WATSON GERARD, "The Unterrorizable": so Woodrow Wilson named him, when in World War's monstrous preludes he was the representative of the United States at Berlin . . . somewhat of which experience these pages reveal. He had served but scant part of an elected term on the New York Supreme Court when international urgency called for close-up masterfulness against Kaiserism's madness; and his career record set high standards, for he beyond any other in officialdom was responsible for that certification of peril potentialities which made America's course imperative. Perforce, Washington peace-at-any-price yielded to his realism.

Socially and culturally prominent, at the bar a leader, in business a controller—and, withal, intimately a governmental adviser—it is a busy life that engages him just across the line of his three-score-and-ten; but beyond law or finance or society this Dean of American Diplomats derives satisfactions from an individualistic flair that he lets the public little note—the nurturing of movements for human good will, the actual advancement of racial-religious mutual understanding. Allies have been such as Newton Baker, Roger Williams Straus, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. He surveys work widely well done . . . FOR THE HONOR OF THE NATION.

Americanism's Salvation

BY
JAMES WATSON GERARD
Dean of American Diplomats

PERHAPS IT IS WORTH A WAR to have it decided that the United States is not run by Berlin.

Over a score of years ago I made that entry of sentiment in my diary—in daily notation of experiences, observations, feelings, judgments . . . as close within my official life inescapable contacts were revealing the horrors of feudalism's ruthless swagger through valiant, defenseless Belgium, for visioned ravening of France and England . . . the official life wherein I was America's Ambassador to Germany, till came Washington's electric word that savagery was insufferable, that war was preferable, imperative.

In stintless devotions of life and treasure, even as a sacrament, we fought in far lands for Civilization.

Shall America, without protest, now witness its loftiest ideal mocked—bayoneted?

Jefferson and his immortal colonials, more than a century and a half ago, made that ideal sacred—our founding "Declaration": "*All men are created equal, with unalienable rights.*"

Therein shines a Faith-Pledge of the United States of America. From Lexington and Bunker Hill, through Valley Forge on to Yorktown, we fought to establish it; and we have maintained it. At our Nation's birth, it was the inspiration. In the strength that is vouchsafed to us it stays Americanism's very corner-stone.

And what high rewards crown loyalty to that basic

creed! Consider—as this review invites and assures—the representative significant records here of Jewish Citizenship.

A year ahead of the Kaiser's volcanic outbreak, contemptuous of civilization standards, a flinging aside of human considerations, President Wilson commissioned me as American Ambassador to Germany; and I fulfilled that station's duties up to the verge of our country's entry into the conflict which thus became, in superlative tragedy, the World War. Only Milton might describe the maleficent panorama brought every day within fearsome scanning—official exigencies demanding tensest attention.

But before war had come, while yet at the surface all the accustomed conventions were in free play, there was opportunity for intimate scrutiny of the German State and the German people. They were sociable and cheery and welcoming . . . but never for a moment was absence of evidence that there is a German psychology which has kinship with no other.

Hideous are the revelations of present day persecutions of the German Jews; but what I had glimpse of leaves me in no doubt that contemporary dispatches are not exaggerations.

The rack and the thumb-screw and the Iron Maid of Nuremberg were not more cruel than these fantastic decrees, so unsuitable with our times, so contrary to all humanity and civilization. I am not harking back to the Dark Ages . . . I speak of what is within my own personal witnessing.

When I was America's ambassador, no German Jew could hold office in the army or the nobility unless he consented to be baptized into some Christian religion.

It is noteworthy that during the whole of my first winter in Berlin, I was not officially or semi-officially afforded

an opportunity to meet any of the leaders of the business world. The great merchants I had to seek out. I did not come in contact with them at any court functions, official dinners or even in the houses of court nobles or those connected with the government. Such Jews as have been ennobled and allowed to put the coveted "von" before their names have first been required to submit to baptism in some Christian church.

In an arrogant assumption, "German Kultur" is extolled as complete warranty for what bears now the label, "Nazi."

What is "German Kultur"? A certain efficiency of government, obtained by keeping the majority of the people out of all voice in governmental affairs; a certain low cost of manufactured products or of carrying charges in the shipping trades, made possible by enslaving the workmen who toil long hours for small wages; a certain superiority in chemical production, because trained chemists can be hired for less than a Fifth Avenue butler is paid; and a certain preeminence in military affairs, reached by subjecting the mass of the people to the brutal, boorish, non-commissioned officers and the galling yoke of a militaristic system.

Subtract the German Jews (and one or two others), and in the lines of real culture there will be little of the real thing left in Germany. That means the subtraction of Gutman, Bleichroeder, von Swabach, Friedlander-Fuld, Rathenau, Simon, Warburg in finance; Borchardt in surgery, and almost the whole medical profession; the Meyers, the Ehrlichs, Bamberger, Hugo Schiff, Newburger, Bertheim, Paul Jacobson, in chemistry and research; Mendelssohn, in music; Harden, Theodore Wolf, George Bernhard and Professor Stein in Journalism; Feuchtwanger and Thomas Mann in literature; and, for climax: Einstein!

Among the only ones not Jews prominent in the intellectual, artistic, financial, or commercial life of Germany are the priests and pastors; and even they begin to feel the Pagan harrow—for it is the new Paganism, not the old Germanism, that is reigning, ravaging.

Refused commissions in the standing army (except for about a hundred during World War), compelled to renounce their religion before being eligible for nobility or a court function, practically excluded from university professorships, the Jews of Germany have lived under disabilities incomparable.

It is only a short time since Jews were not allowed to bear Christian names. Marriages of Jews and Christians were forbidden. Jews could not own houses and lands. They were not permitted to engage in agriculture and could not become members of the guilds or unions of handicraftsmen. When a Jew travelled he was compelled to pay a tax in each province through which he passed. Jews attending the fair at Frankfort on the Oder were compelled to pay a head tax, and were admitted to Leipzig and Dresden on condition that they might be expelled at any time. Berlin Jews were compelled to buy annually a certain quantity of porcelain, derisively called "Jew's porcelain," from the Royal manufactory and sell it abroad. When a Jew married he had to get permission, and an annual impost was paid on each member of the family, while only one son could remain at home, and the others were forced to seek their fortune abroad. The Jews could worship in their own way in some states, provided they used only two small rooms and made no noise.

The reproach that the Jew is not a producer, but is a mere middleman, taking a profit as goods pass from hand to hand, is handed down from the time when Jews were forbidden by law to become producers and, therefore, were compelled to become traders.

In large measure, doubtless, that forbidding rule in other lands than America still persists. In America it does not.

Give but a cursory glance to our country's on-going activities of today, to the topmost reaches of our country . . . and what is the reality?

In intellectual life, in education and applied learning, the practicalities of economics, the American Jew is at the forefront—welcomed there, honored there. And so the record ranges: in the arts, science, literature, in medicine and in law, in agriculture, in industry, in research and invention, in leadership of capital as of labor, and—at highest peak of all!—in the plentitude of Men of Good Will, the creators and the maintainers of charities countless, mammoth.

Jews share the dignities of the United States Supreme Court, Jews legislate in the Nation's Congress, Jews have rank in the Army and the Navy, Jews are Presidents' advisers, Jews North and South, East and West, are Governors of our States . . . not feasible here any adequate enumeration; so vast, so far-flung the participation of the Jew in every worth-while phase of American life—as peace-time thinker, builder, broadener, conserver, betterer—as war-time patriot.

Distinguished is the Jew's citizenship acquittance to America—as in this volume so graphically registered in finality by Dr. Eliot and Governor McCall: preeminent Christians, chivalrous for History straightforward.

'And with what nobility shines the American Jew's devotion to those hosts of kindred in distant lands, harried and ravened! In a high respect, I venture what I conceive to be Americanism's salutation:

We are with you in the fight for Humanity!

TRUSTWORTHY FOR LIBERTY

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT: Among American educators the paragon, for over half a century Harvard University's President . . . ardently civic minded, his aims specific, plans practical. Many years concerned with national immigration law inequalities, particularly protesting Jewish handicaps, he welcomed Governor McCall's draft upon him for counsel as to the presentation in this volume's form of historical Jewish citizenship contributions.

"Go to it!" he approved. "Your Congress record shines and your Governorship, term on term, has been packed with public service . . . but, my veteran friend, you approach a further comparable work—actually your climax opportunity!"

So was assured this volume . . . and be it known now that continuously throughout all the historical research Dr. Eliot's cooperation was close—every page of Governor McCall's manuscript passing through his hands, as was amply being established what he so earnestly regarded as the work's "Main purpose" . . . "History's certification that the American Jew is distinctly a builder and in patriot participation a devotee."

Trustworthy For Liberty

BY

DR. CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT

President of Harvard University

GOVERNOR McCALL'S WORK attesting *The Patriotism of the American Jew*, should be widely read by the thinking people in the United States, and particularly by those who are in the habit of trying to take an active part in the formation of a wise public opinion.

Governor McCall prefaces his conclusive demonstration of the patriotism of the American Jew by some account of the immense services of the Jewish race to mankind. The careful reader of his earlier chapters will learn how the Jews maintained monotheism against idolatry; how their own “Lord of Hosts” guided them in their frequent wanderings and fought with them in battle against their enemies, and how their one Lord was the chief of the first republic ever created on this earth—the Republic of the Judges.

He will see that the Hebrews, centuries before the Christian era, created for themselves and transmitted to other races a superb literature in both prose and poetry, and later contributed to the preservation and transmission to modern times of the literatures of other nations, such as those of Greece, Rome, Arabia, and England.

From earliest times to the latest the Hebrew race has been to a remarkable extent a literate people, passing from father to son and from generation to generation the art of reading and writing, the love of letters, and a strong belief in education. On down the centuries the synagogue has been a school for both children and adults, and

Personal letter from President Eliot, of Harvard University, to his intimate, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, of the United States Supreme Court:

I am attending to your request for extra copies of our friend Governor McCall's "Vital Jewish Book," as you value it.

Your praise of it is personally pleasant, for from the work's start the Governor has had one constant collaborator . . . that one myself. To ourselves it is always "Our Book."

So, to strengthen your generous opinion of me, I am writing this prideful confidence: that, though my name be not upon the title-page, my relation has been to every page—an affectionate contribution to the Governor, and, I hope, contributory to the interests, the vital interests, of Our Country.

Calvin Coolidge speaks truly: "Every boy in America should know this book."

the rabbis have been teachers of morality, social order, and domestic honor and love.

The Hebrews have always been a migratory people, their migrations being induced alike by wars, famine, and persecution. When at last a few million Jews have migrated to the United States of America, here for the first time they have found a country in which they intend to stay.

It is the main purpose of Governor McCall to demonstrate beyond a question that the American Jew loves America, and has been rendering great service to the United States ever since the Constitution was adopted—services military, naval, industrial, and financial—bearing *voluntarily a part in public labors and burdens larger in proportion to their numbers than the immigrants of English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch or Scandinavian stock have borne.* These are facts that the Christian races inhabiting the United States today should carefully bear in mind.

The moral teachings which have come down through the Jewish race have never been outgrown.

They cover the tenets on which alone human society can be securely founded—honor thy father and thy mother; thou shalt not kill, commit adultery, steal, bear false witness against thy neighbor, or covet anything that is thy neighbor's.

Here are the principles which guide mankind to sound family life, and to respect for the life, property, and rights of the neighbor.

There can be no doubt that the American Jews are trustworthy in regard to the theory of political liberty.

THEIR EMINENT PART

SAMUEL WALKER McCALL: Dartmouth College, his alma mater, is proudly his biographer—this the citation by President Tucker in 1901, conferring for statesmanship the honorary degree of LL.D.:

"Member of Congress from Massachusetts, student of men and of events, who reads the issues of the times, not in the glare of the hour, but in the light of history. Steadfast in conviction, strong in utterance. In action above expediency."

And when, ending tense high public service, the statesman passed on, Dartmouth familiarity and appreciation registered:

"Lost is a thinker and a leader who has contributed to the Nation. For twenty years a representative in Congress, for three feverish years of war Governor of one of the most important of our States, and for over fifty years a toiler for educational advancement, Governor McCall, in literature as in political devotions, has left a record worthy of profound respect and earnest emulation."

"An Influence bound eventually to prove world-wide, if really

there exists what men call Civilization"

Their Eminent Part

BY

SAMUEL WALKER McCALL

Governor of Massachusetts

FOMENTING ANTAGONISM AGAINST A RACE is a business at which America is new and, therefore, awkward. There is strength in our many-sided American citizenship which makes it possible for our civilization to reflect the best qualities of so many races.

Such a result, however, can only be brought about by cooperation. The division that would come from arousing race antagonism would serve to convert what should be a source of strength into a source of weakness. It is the statement of a very obvious thing to say that the obtrusion of race issues into our social structure and political life would have the inevitable effect of giving us less equal government; it would expose races to possible persecution, and would increase the difficulty with which our friendly relations with foreign governments may be maintained. It would gravely endanger the very vitality of the nation.

Racial antagonisms are likely enough to show themselves, even without stimulation, in conditions which are rich in material for their formation. There is danger enough that they will spring up spontaneously and without special incitement on the part of anyone. The tendency to have our population divide itself into great cliques needs to be resisted, not encouraged, and when men deliberately set themselves to the task of

arousing race hatred, the undertaking is by no means difficult in proportion to its wickedness. With so much combustible material lying about us there may easily be kindled a conflagration which it will be very hard to control.

In this contribution I have endeavored to give some estimate of the part played by the Jew in the development of our history and of the title he has established to all the rights of our citizenship. The references to remoter history form a necessary background, being essential in my opinion to an understanding of the danger involved in any departure from the American attitude, which has been not merely beneficial to ourselves but also to Europe.*

Before a settled race prejudice, constitutional guarantees are likely to shrink into mere paper rights, and its influence to be seen in the enactment and administration of law. Resistance to the formation of unjust and hostile opinion against a race becomes a public duty.

I have chiefly concerned myself with the accusation that the Jew can be true to no country and is lacking in the capacity for patriotism. I have thought the best way of dealing with this and similar charges was to point to what individual Jews had done and from that to derive the characteristics applicable to the race as a whole. This process while more tedious is also more rational than to have recourse to the imagination and produce

* President Eliot read in manuscript—and later in proof-sheets—what Governor McCall wrote, and his unqualified approval appears in the preluding contribution he makes, and the Governor adds this appreciation: “Much research has been necessary and I have been fortunate in my advisors and helpers. I especially have been fortunate enough to have the proof read by so distinguished a scholar as Professor George F. Moore, of Harvard, and his suggestions upon ecclesiastical and race history and the protocols have been of great value!”

from it some race trait by which all its members are to be judged. When a fault is shown by a Jew it is because he is a Jew; in the case of other men the race is not mentioned. For example, if a Jew is charged with treason the indictment is made to lie against the whole race; but in the case of Benedict Arnold he is not imputed to the English race, and certainly not as a representative. Not the least of the wrongs inflicted upon the Jew is that he is judged as one of a mass and not as an individual.*

The noble theory of political equality, lying at the base of our institutions, gives us no immunity from those out-

* Indication of the broad sweep of Governor McCall's historical study and review appears in the captions of his nineteen graphic chapters:

- I. THEIR EMINENT PART
- II. Political Forgeries Called Protocols
- III. Persecution's Preface to a New World
- IV. Oppression Raging Everywhere
- V. Pioneers Who Conquered Prejudice
- VI. Ardent in the War for Independence
- VII. Leadership in Religious Freedom
- VIII. Meriting Washington's Approbation
- IX. Attested Quality of Patriotism
- X. World War Valor and Sacrifice
- XI. Service Mindless of Sectarianism
- XII. Pride in Civic Responsibilities
- XIII. Intolerance's Orgies of Falsehood
- XIV. Rise to Potency in World Finance
- XV. In the Stresses of Wall Street
- XVI. Marvel of World Philanthropy
- XVII. Foreign Desolation's Urgent Appeal
- XVIII. Noble History's Witnesses
- XIX. National Duty Unmistakable

rages upon law which have so often sprung out of the prejudices of race. We have sad enough proof of that in our own history, but we shall be thrice warned if we shall consider not only what has happened here but what has happened among other nations.

One, therefore, who essays to stir up race hatred in this country must be deaf to the teachings of history or he must set before himself a most exalted purpose to justify the peril to which he is exposing society.

Of all the races of the world the one that has been the victim of the most outrageous and long continued persecution is the Jewish race. There is no fouler blot upon what we call civilization than the treatment that has been visited upon the Jews. After centuries of persecution the members of the race have been permitted in most countries during the last two or three generations to enjoy the common rights of mankind, and in our land they have, greatly to their own advantage and the advantage of the rest of us, been fully invested with the rights of citizenship. It would seem incredible in the light of experience that anybody should seek to revive the race feud against the Jew, and that such an attempt should be made in America of all countries. Surely no man who hopes to look upon a world which is the abode of civilization can desire to see again a condition which constituted a glaring reproach upon all humanity. And no unwarped American could contemplate without shame our taking part in a movement that might bring to naught that emancipation which our country so honorably led in conferring.

After the city of Jerusalem fell, despite one of the most desperate defenses recorded in history, the Roman conqueror forbade the Jews ever again to enter the city. Since that time they have been without a country which as a race they could call a home. They fled to North

Africa, to Spain, and even to Rome itself. They climbed the Alps with the Roman legions into Germany and Gaul. They crossed the channel into England before the Saxon invader came to that country. They penetrated into the deserts of Arabia. There was no known country in the world in which the sons of Abraham did not seek a refuge.

But while the fall of Jerusalem marked formally the ending of their state, their real dispersion dates from an earlier time. It began in the sixth century before the Christian era. After the conquests of Alexander, it attained larger proportions, proceeding from Babylonia and Egypt as well as Palestine. In the time of Christ, Philo estimates the Jewish population of Egypt at a million, and the Jews in Babylonia and the other provinces of the Kingdom were more numerous than those of Palestine. Many were carried off into slavery by Pompey; many perished in the war of 66-72 A.D., or were carried off by the victors; many more suffered the same fate under Hadrian.

But whatever the period to which it may be assigned, it was as effective a world-wide dispersion of a race as if its members had been sown by the hand of the Creator over every land. Ordinarily a race thus scattered would in time have lost its identity and would not have appeared as a distinctive race in subsequent history. It would have been absorbed by the established races with which it came in contact; and the blending might have measurably affected the character of the different race stocks. In that way only it might have exerted influence upon subsequent civilization. Undoubtedly, the history of a race distinguished by the achievements of the Jews would have survived, if only on account of its deathless literature, of which its literary glories were only surpassed by its ethical and religious values. But there

would have lingered no Jewish problem to vex subsequent times.

Why, then, was the race not thus absorbed? More than one answer may be given and more than one of them may possess an element of truth. The foremost reason, probably, is found in the indomitable vitality of its religious faith—a faith not only surviving persecution but made stronger on account of it.

The Jews carried with them everywhere their devotion to the worship of Jehovah. With the exercise of this worship there had come to them from Moses as a part of the law a multitude of observances in the preparation of food and in the practical ordering of their lives. Perhaps the most powerful influence was seen in the synagogue through which the whole people was educated in its religion as revealed in its scriptures and in the unwritten law religious, moral and ceremonial. Thus, under conditions then existing in the world, so long as they adhered to their religion, with all that it implied they maintained their community life and were to an extent isolated from the populations among which they lived.

After the power of the Jews had been broken in Palestine a new sect appeared which at first was even more despised. Its members were cast into prison, fed to wild beasts, and subjected to nameless tortures. But it spontaneously grew in strength until it soon became the overshadowing power in all Europe. When the Roman Empire was broken into many fragments, each imperfectly performing the functions of government, and a wave of barbarism threatened to sweep away all that was left of civilization, it was this new church which furnished a refuge from the tempest. It came to be the

ruler over kings and made more easy to be endured the conditions of the peoples over whom they held sway. It formed the mighty bridge across which were borne so many of the memorials of the ancient world. Strange to say, it has been the same church, the Christian church, which has been responsible for the worst persecution of the Jews.

But it should be said at the outset that the attitude of the entire Christian Church in all its branches, Catholic as well as Protestant, is radically different today. Anti-Jewish agitation seems to have little or no support in the pulpit of any church.

The words of one of the greatest preachers of modern times so strikingly reveals the change from the attitude of the Fourteenth Century that a liberal quotation of them is justified. Henry Ward Beecher, speaking of the Jews, in one of the most powerful of his sermons, said in his Plymouth pulpit:

“These heroic people stand preeminent as the unrecognized benefactors of the human race. If any people ever lived whose faults might be condoned in consideration of their invaluable services to religion and to civilization, it is the Hebrews. If any people ever had a full measure of every form and degree of injustice meted out to them, it is the Hebrews.

“Let us look at the contributions which have been made to the world’s stock in civilization by the Hebrews. It may surprise some to be told that commonwealth, as we understand it in republican governments, is unquestionably of the desert, and that our institutions sprang from the laws of Moses’s mind; but it is true. The commonwealth of the Israelites contained in it the seeds of all subsequent commonwealths.

“An appeal to the people on all great questions of polity; educating all of the people to have a public

sentiment about their own affairs; the attempt to conduct a government, whether by prophet, by priest, or by king, for the benefit of the people themselves, these fundamental elements belonged, and I think belonged first, to the Hebrew commonwealth.

"Closely allied to the organization of government, and indeed precedent to it, as the very condition of successful and continuous government, is the household. Now, the family emerged from barbaric forms earlier among the Hebrews than among any other people and passed into that condition which has enabled it to perpetuate itself. In no other nation were children ever reared with more care. In intelligence, in home life, in purity, in exaltation of sentiment, and in extraordinary care in the teaching of children, there are not to be found in the palmiest communities of the best Christian households those that surpass the best families of Jews at this time. We have borrowed their example, and are rearing our children after the pattern and inspiration of the Jewish household, as it has existed from the days of Moses onward.

"I cannot fail to point out, too, how in that Oriental land and in that early day, the virtue of industry, of personal independence, of work, was understood and enforced. During the time that Plato declared that in his Ideal Republic there should be no mechanics, during that long intermediate period when to be a working man was to be shut out from all hope and honor and elevation in society, from four thousand years ago, down to this day, work has been honorable in the Jewish household, and that motto, that proverb stands, which stood at that early period: 'He who brings his child up without a trade brings him up to be a thief.' On that principle the children of the richest Jews, of Jews in the highest station, were taught how to maintain themselves by

their own hands and by their own industry. The making of work honorable is one of the boons which God has given to the human race through this remarkable people.

“Then we are to take notice how in the Jewish nation, from the very earliest day, woman took that position to which she has been coming for two thousand years since through the inspirations of Christianity. Whatever a woman could do well and was called of God by inspiration to do, that she was permitted to do; and she stood honored by what she was. That invaluable contribution to humanity we derived from the early example of this great people.

“The Jewish religion bred a race of men who put into the building of themselves the attributes of truth, of justice, of humanity, of morality, of gentleness and of humility. It reared men who in their own time had no equals, and with whom there was nothing to compare. The Greeks built better temples than the Hebrews, but though Hebrew genius had never carved a marble it did better—it carved men.

“The Jew may have been deficient in the perception of the beautiful as it was developed in matter; but his soul was all aflame with a conception of the beautiful as it was developed in the mind.

“*As the hart panteth
After the water brooks,
So panteth my soul
After thee, O, God!*”

“In the whole literature of the globe, you cannot find another such aspiration, and this is but one of ten thousand of the breathings of the Jewish mind, of its yearning after the divine.

“No people ever taught the world such a lesson of endurance, of indestructible manhood, under every con-

ceivable aggression and wrong, as the Jews have. It has been the very genius of the Hebrew people to work for the welfare of mankind by working for their own welfare. They fought the battle of liberty in fighting for their own right to live. If ever a race was heroic, this race has been."

II: Political Forgeries, Called "Protocols"

THE so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" have been brought forward among us as a basis for anti-Jewish agitation. And this has been done after they have been fully discredited in Europe, where scholars of independence and character had no difficulty in penetrating into their fraudulent character.

Although the protocols have been many times effectually exploded, what they contain and the manner of their production shed such light upon the character of anti-Jewish agitation that more than a cursory reference to them is demanded. The Jews have not merely been attacked because they were Jews but they have been assailed in order to promote some political or social purpose which did not primarily concern them; and the attack upon the Jews based on the protocols had primarily a political purpose. It may be said that the protocols pretend to be the confession by "Hebrew Elders" of the malign purposes of their race toward civilization. What through centuries has been in effect charged times without number by the enemies of the Jewish race, it was very convenient to have put in the form of a confession by somebody who, whether he had an existence or not, should at least be credited with a title which would imply authority to be the spokesman of the Jews. The Jewish race, it is alleged by these mythical Elders, cherishes the purpose of producing revolution, overturning government, destroying Christianity and civilization, and in general of propagating the diseases of which all the world is now so mortally sick—and, in some inscrutable fashion, out of it all, to secure the dominion of the world for the Jew.

This is surely a very ambitious program thus to be formally acknowledged by these Elders and so obligingly delivered over to the enemies of the Jew, with the result

of fomenting agitation against the race. We are asked to believe that the Jews now inhabiting the earth seek to sacrifice themselves and subordinate their own interests entirely to the interests of the Jews of the future, whose power and glory they are thus attempting to secure. Also, these mysterious Elders would appear to be somewhat given to credulity to believe that the billion and a half of non-Jewish people who would still survive would placidly yield authority to the few million of Jews for whom triumph had been secured in the manner proposed. There are other considerations in abundance which should have suggested caution in accepting these "protocols." It should certainly have imposed caution that they were brought forward for sensational disclosure not by a friend but by an enemy of Zion; and this enemy one who gave different and contradictory versions of how he procured them.

Competent scholarship made prompt exposure of the fact that some of the contents were pilfered bodily from older documents which were of unquestionable anti-Jewish origin. There is not one circumstance which sustains their authenticity. Professor C. H. Wright, Librarian of the London Library, writes:

"We are left wondering why this kind of nauseating out-pouring of a perverted religiosity should be foisted on the public in an anonymous shape without a clue to its real origin and full context."

It is disclosed that the revelation is entirely an excerpt from a book by a Russian reactionary and partisan of autocracy published, not this year, nor last year, but many years ago. That there existed or ever had been in this author's possession any authenticated dependable documents was not even claimed. The writer affected merely to quote from manuscripts entrusted to him by an anonymous acquaintance—concocted from what this Rus-

sian propagandist himself describes in his Moscow publication as "incomplete notes of lectures," delivered by an unnamed lecturer, on unknown dates, "in Paris about 1901."

"An intimate knowledge of Russian literature and intellectual life for the past twenty years convinces me that these protocols are worthless," is the dismissing comment of the London Librarian.

These protocols, freshly revamped, fashioned to serve the vicious primitive purpose of hate, can mislead no one who in fairness gives them even casual scrutiny. They are clumsy and stupid forgeries fabricated without cunning. Indeed, the man who produced them—styling himself "Sergius Nilus, of the Department of Foreign Relations, Moscow"—offers them as a postscript to explosive chapters of abuse that he is bent upon perpetrating against the Anglo-Saxon race. Even the London publishers who, commercially, had great stake in the canard's distribution, appear to have found any pretence of authenticity impracticable. In a featured "Preface" they confess that there is doubt of trustworthiness, revealing that the anonymous author of the book is unable to provide any certificate of genuineness whatever. The "Preface" makes the following confession, which is more direct than that of the "Hebrew Elders":

"We have said that this document flashes a blaze of light, and so it does, but whether the document is genuine or not, whether the blaze of light is true or false, can only be judged by internal evidence and probabilities. We may say at once that Nilus advances nothing in the nature of real evidence to prove the document and that his account of how it came into his hands consists of assertion only, without evidence to support it."

Ample appraisal of both the author's manner and matter can be found in the fact that even the rapacious

maw of Russia's Anti-Semitic Encyclopedia will not take a syllable of it. "Jumble of embittered nonsense," is stamped upon it by a scholar as distinguished as Aylmer Maude, known the world over as the translator of Count Tolstoi into English, who summarizes: "There has just been brought to light a French book published more than a half century ago against Napoleon the Third. Parallel passages taken from this book and from the protocols show such an exact correspondence in substance and phrasing as to prove that the forger of the protocols was a literary pirate of high order."

The English speaking nations have until recent times been remarkably free from that political and ecclesiastical anti-Semitism which has too often shown itself upon the continent of Europe and indeed has seemed entrenched there; but two years ago there was an outbreak of this anti-Semitism in England and the United States. There was the same starting point in both countries. The basis of agitation was found in English translations from the Russian of the protocols with portions of the introduction and epilogue of the Russian editor, Sergius Nilus, and comments and applications by the anonymous translators who discreetly withheld their names.

The translation published in America was independent of that brought out in England and was of a later edition of the original. A German translation had appeared a short time before and a French one almost simultaneously with the English versions, and there were publications in other European languages at about the same time. Very soon after the appearance of the "Jewish Peril" with its translation and interpretation of the protocols, the London *Morning Post*, the leading organ of the Tory party in England, inaugurated a series

of sensational articles upon this "Peril," which were collected in a volume entitled "The Cause of World Unrest" with an introduction appropriately in the same vein, and this volume was immediately republished in New York. The simultaneous opening of this campaign in places so widely separated and based on a forged document which had appeared more than a dozen years before was obviously not an accidental coincidence.

Who were the instigators of the campaign? All the circumstances combine to make it appear as certain as such things can be that the authors of the plan were none other than some Russian émigrés who at that time were endeavoring to gain the support of the European and American governments and of the public opinion of the world for the military enterprises undertaken to overthrow the Soviet Government in Russia and restore the old autocratic régime. It seemed to be an effective means to this end to convince the different nations that the then-existing government of Russia was a Jewish oligarchy forced upon the unhappy Russian people and that it was only the first stage in the execution of a deep-laid plan for bringing the whole world under the dominion of the Jews; and the protocols were conveniently brought to light as a confession of the purpose of the Jewish race to accomplish that very result. As a part of this program the armies of Denikin and Wrangel scattered the protocols broadcast in the field of their operations, at the same time inciting massacres of the Jews wherever they went.

The propaganda for English readers, of which "The Cause of World Unrest" may stand as an example, was of the same origin and character. The purpose of the propaganda in all the countries was to establish the contention that the crisis in which the world found itself and the imminent deadly peril which menaced it was

not due to the atrocious and intolerable tyranny of the old Russian autocracy or to the obvious reasons for unrest which were elsewhere showing themselves as a result of the war, but to a formidable conspiracy, the outcome of the long cherished purpose of a race, and that this conspiracy had as its aim to undermine and overturn the whole structure of our modern civilization, political, economic, social and religious in order to establish upon its ruins the dominion of the Hebrew race.

This was a beautiful program certainly, even if somewhat transparent. The plan and the means to be employed in order to carry it out were directed by a secret Jewish order which already constituted in a large measure the invisible government of Europe and America. The documentary proof of this purpose was furnished by the protocols, the genuineness of which it was claimed had been established by the exact correspondence between the plan which they laid down and the history of Europe from the French to the Russian revolutions. The author, who betrayed by some fatal slips that he was not an Englishman but probably a Russian, gained the greater part of his acknowledged inspiration from a line of French authors beginning with the closing of the eighteenth century. He ascribed the revolution and subsequent democratic and anti-clerical movements to the machinations of this great conspiracy.

In the older writings of this line the conspirators were the Free Masons; later when anti-Semitism became fashionable in France it was discovered that the Jews were the instigators of it all, working behind the veil of secrecy of the Masonic orders. Indeed the French translation of the protocols bore the title "La Péril Judéo Maconnique." This combination appealed to the Rus-

sians, and it appears in the publications of Nilus. According to a French writer who is cited as authority by the London *Morning Post*, the Templars formed a sinister connection with the order of assassins which infested the mountains around Jerusalem! and "whose members must have been Jews since their object was the rebuilding of Solomon's temple." The first Masonic initiation was received by the master of the order from the old man of the mountain in a cavern on Mount Lebanon! The French and Russian literature of this Judeo-Masonic peril frequently linked the Protestant nations, particularly the English, as descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel, with the Jews and Masons as allies in the Judaizing of the Christian nations and in forwarding other nefarious designs on all the good in the world.

It may be noted here that Free Masonry has been diligently put forward by anti-Jewish writers and by some who profess friendship for the Jews as one of the instrumentalities for the propagation of Jewish power. One would infer that Free Masonry was one of the established Jewish orders. A basis for this inference is found not merely in such mystical writings as the protocols but a writer of the note of Mr. Hilaire Belloc speaks of "The Institution of Free Masonry (with which they [the Jews] are so closely allied and all the ritual of which is Jewish in character)." *

The relations of Masonry to the Jews are probably not essentially different in America from what they are in Europe and it is a well-known fact that some of the Masonic lodges in America have no Jewish membership and in the American order as a whole the number of Jews is much smaller relatively than their proportion of the population.

George Washington was a Mason and in his wake may

* The Jews, Hilaire Belloc, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1922.

be found such other architects of disorder and conspirators against the world's peace as William H. Taft, Theodore Roosevelt and Andrew Jackson. If the Masonic ritual is Jewish, precisely the same damning charges may be made against the "ritual" of the Christian religion. From the mystical workings of the professional anti-Jewish mind we may yet expect to see evolved the charges that Christianity itself is a contrivance of the Jews by which they aim to secure dominion of the world.

It will be interesting to some American readers to know that the *Tory London Morning Post*, one of the first antagonists of the League of Nations, puts President Wilson and Lenin in the same category. Between the fourteen points of Wilson and the Kremlin Manifestos as disintegrating forces "there is," it says, "little to choose." "Common to both Washington and Moscow is the necessity of an international control of the world. To the one it is the League of Nations, to the other it is the Third Internationale. The idea is the same although the instruments are different." At Paris Mr. Wilson was declared to be surrounded by Jews and to have become completely under their influence. A French writer on Wilson takes the view that Free Masonry was used as a channel for the dissemination of these ideas.

On the protocols themselves which are alleged to reveal the secrets of this remarkable conspiracy, it is necessary to say but little more. They were published in Russia in 1905 as the concluding chapter to the second edition of a book, first issued two years previously by Nilus, of whom little is known beyond the fact that he had been connected in a subordinate capacity with a branch of the Russian secret police. He seemed to be possessed with the idea that the last times were at hand, signs of which he saw in the popularity of Tolstoi and the education of women. The heading of the chapter

containing the protocols is "Anti-Christ as a Near Political Possibility."

Among the three of four contradictory stories which Nilus told of how the protocols came into his hands, not the least absurd was that they contained a plan worked out by the leaders of the Jewish people during many centuries, and were finally presented to the council of elders by Theodore Herzl, the "Prince of the Exile" at the first Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897.

That they were forgeries, as I have said, internal evidence puts beyond a doubt, and it leaves equally little doubt that they were invented in order to support the cause of Russian absolutism. They make the Jews themselves declare that autocracy is the only form of government under which mankind can flourish and that all the liberal propaganda of constitutional government, of democracy in the state and of religious freedom are only devices of the Jews to destroy civilized governments and the Christian church, to make way for universal autocracy at the head of which would be a Jewish king.

The authors of the forged protocols did not draw heavily upon their own intellectual resources, but they helped themselves to whatever suited their purpose wherever it was found. Their indebtedness to the scene in the Jewish burying-ground in Goedsche's romance, "Biarritz," was at once recognized and an intermediate line, discovered in a separate recasting of the novelist, was put in the mouth of the representative of the twelve tribes into a single discourse, "The Rabbi's Speech." Later on in a definite exposure of the fraud to which I have alluded the London *Times* proved that the principles and methods avowed in the protocols are in a large part paraphrased from an anonymous attack on the policies of Napoleon III, published in 1865, under a title which in translation runs: "Dialogue in Hell be-

tween Machiavelli and Montesquieu or the Statecraft of Machiavelli in the 19th Century."

Certainly this adoption of methods not uncommon in Russia and in the other continental countries does little credit either to England or America. The wonder is that anybody should have thought anything resembling public opinion or anything more stable than a passing prejudice could be built up in the two English-speaking countries by the employment of such mystical trash. And yet it has been made the occasion of one of the most formidable and widespread drives ever directed against the Jews.

The protocols are of importance here because they involve a sinister invitation to re-enact one of the most baleful chapters of all history, and to take a leap backward into a past which we would willingly forget. What gain can one see for our country or for civilization if amid the babble of confused race feuds which already threaten the United States, we are to uncover the banked fires of Jewish proscription? A glance at the past will show the danger, for in a time when the most barbarous scenes of history have been re-enacted with horrors added, it is wholly unsafe to presume that anything that has happened may not happen again.

III: Persecution's Preface To A New World

SPAIN's tolerance was beyond that of all the other countries of Europe in its treatment of the Jews after the rule of the Visigoths had been shattered. Granada was especially liberal towards them. This was doubtless due to the fact that it was the last foothold of the Moslem power in Spain, for the Arab rulers practiced a religious toleration which they extended alike to Jews and Christians. With the ascendancy of Christianity and its practical control of the civil authority, intolerance made its appearance. In Granada the Jews were encouraged to engage in trade and to gratify their thirst for an education. In the Christian kingdoms of Spain the treatment they received was more unsteady and capricious, but they were given much liberty and the avenues of culture were open to them. They attained distinction in the universities and were permitted, with few or no restrictions, to engage in finance and trade. This period in both Moslem and Christian Spain is regretfully referred to by historians of the Jewish race as "the golden age" in Spain for the Jews. It was golden in the freedom which it extended to them and in the opportunity that it gave to the uncrushed Jew to show of what he was capable.

But much of the gilding was rubbed off of this golden age at the opening of the Thirteenth Century by new and humiliating impositions.

Consorting with Christians was banned under heavy penalties. The Jew was compelled to live in ghettos, and in most of these ghettos there was but a single gate. They were ordered to wear some distinguishing badge, which would make it clear that they were Jews. Humiliating exactions were imposed upon them, and the authorities were insistent not merely that they should always remember that they were Jews, but that they deserved

to be under the ban of Christians. For instance, in one Spanish city every Jew was required to pay an annual tax of thirty dineros as a perpetual reminder of the number of pieces of silver Judas received. This surely was a strange appraisal to put upon a race of which the other apostles and the Redeemer himself were members. But it has not been an uncommon practice for the Jew hater to treat Judas as the typical member of the race. It would be as justifiable to treat Benedict Arnold as the typical American or Englishman.

But in comparison with the treatment accorded the Jew generally in Europe, there is warrant for regarding the toleration which he enjoyed in Spain as marking relatively a golden age. The Jew prospered on the whole and along with him the country prospered also. He had an opportunity to gratify his ambition, to make accumulation, to take part in enterprise, and in nearly all, if not all, activities relating to business, he had the privileges of those about him.

He was forbidden, however, in the Christian States from holding lands, which was a serious bar at a time when landed property was the chief form of property—and he had to wear his hateful badge.

But compared, for instance, with the Italy of later years, where the daily overflow of filth from the Tiber seeped into the habitations of the Jews, and where they were compelled to undergo even physical mutilation and torture, he had reason to be grateful for the treatment accorded him in Spain.

The Jew demonstrated that he had a genius for finance. Spain especially courted him and distributed titles and decorations to reward him for the help he had given and to encourage him to make new contributions. Largely on account of the Jews, the national finance of Spain was

masterful, and it enabled her to maintain her position and to extend her power through her wars.

A glance at the other countries will show that they accorded the Jew few of the opportunities he had in Spain. It was not a time when human rights cut any figure, even for those who were not Jews. A man received little consideration just because he was a man.

The Jews were subject to repressive laws and to the most obstinate prejudice. Riots against them were under little restraint.

In France, the victims of invidious distinctions, and shut off from the ordinary avenues of making a living, they were finally banished altogether. The persecution against them reached its climax in a massacre, in which it is estimated by some historians that as many as ten thousand Jews lost their lives.

German princes let out their Jews as soldiers to fight for other countries.

At least one English king threw them into prison, and wrung money out of them through the most abhorrent torture.

If there was no other reason for christening that period in the world's history the Dark Ages, the treatment accorded the Jews would be a sufficient reason.

The Fifteenth Century's horror and glory were Spain's; and in the center of that horror and glory looms the Jew. The climax of all persecution in Europe was, strangely enough, reached in Spain, in the country which had given him the most generous treatment.

Ferdinand and Isabella were persuaded that their kingdom and Christianity itself were in peril on account of the "conversos" who were Moors and Jews who had been forced to accept Christianity but who in secret clung

to their former faiths. The frightful engine of torture and oppression was turned against the conversos. Processions of these unhappy creatures would be driven through the streets to public squares, and they would be tortured, strangled and burned alive. The atrocious treatment visited upon the Jews by the authorities under the forms of law reacted upon the multitude, and as a result massacres were carried on with little restraint or discrimination. Under rigorous rule the number of Jews in Spain was greatly reduced, and then an edict of banishment was promulgated against all who should not within four months declare themselves Christians and receive the rite of Baptism. It was, in effect, a decree of expulsion against most of the survivors of the race. But thousands of Jews remained secretly after the edict, and the oppressors were scarcely less active for the next two centuries in persecuting secret Jews both in Spain and in her American colonies. Discrimination was nearly world-wide. Almost everywhere Jews would be compelled to face proscription and prejudice.

Just as the Mohammedan in Spain had taught a lesson in toleration, so an asylum for the fugitives was found in the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey. Religious toleration was a part of the fundamental law of Islam, and Turkey did only what other Mohammedan States had done. Whether the great prosperity which Turkey then enjoyed was augmented by the influx of the Jews, it received many of that race from Spain, among whom, was Don Jose Mendes Masi, the famous financier.

Spain, at that time contained about seven and a half million people, of whom over a quarter of a million were Jews; less than one-fourth of these accepted baptism to escape expulsion. The remainder lost their lives, or were forthwith sentenced to exile. They were forbidden to take gold or silver out of the country, and

therefore it made little difference whether or not they were permitted to collect the debts that were due them. The property that they were permitted to carry with them was thus limited to only a few forms, which would have little money value. To drive a whole race into exile, into new lands, and stripped of its possessions, was cruelty of the most barbarous kind.

"The sum of human misery inflicted by this edict," writes H. C. Lea, Christian historian, "was incomputable," in sequel as it was to "the most glorious centuries of Spain, those in which the Jews enjoyed the greatest power in the courts of kings, prelates and nobles in Castile and Aragon, when the treasures of the kingdoms were virtually in their hands, when it was their skill in organizing the supplies that rendered practicable the emprises of such monarchs as Alfonso VI and VII, Fernando III and Jaime I."

The Edict of exile was finally put in force in August, 1492. It seems to be more than a coincidence that the date coincided with the Ninth Day of Ab which had long been observed by the Jews as the anniversary of the destruction of the Holy Temple.

And here may be witnessed one of the startling contrasts of history.

On the 2nd day of August the last of two hundred thousand Jews were scourged out of the kingdom. Nothing on that day could be more odious to the nation than a Jew. He was made a national sacrifice.

On the next day, the 3rd day of August, out of the same port from which the remnant of the Jews were driven, the fleet of Christopher Columbus, financed by Jews, sailed on its epochal voyage which was to climax in the discovery of a new world.

On the 2nd of August the Jew was loaded down with the hatred of a nation and reached the lowest depth of contempt. On the next day he was not merely a patron of a nation, but the benefactor of the world, ushering in a new era in the history of mankind.

Emilo Castellar, accepted in Spain as the dependable biographer of Christopher Columbus, makes note of the fact that it happened that "one of the last vessels transporting into exile the Jews expelled from Spain, passed by the little fleet bound in search of another world."

Enforcement of the edict nearly completed the work of the obliteration of the Jews in Spain. The country had been under so great a debt to their business activities and enterprise, and public finance had owed so much to their management, that their departure from Spain marked the beginning of the decline of the glory of that country. The governing bodies of cities sent appealing memorials to their king. They presented the black records of commerce prostrated and of complaints that artisans out of employment were compelled to flee to other kingdoms.

The history of the first unsuccessful attempt of Columbus to secure the means with which to make his voyage is known to every school boy, but the source from which the means were finally procured is much less widely known. The Spanish King and Queen were greatly interested in the plans of Columbus but they were poor, and were unable to help the navigator. He was turned away for lack of funds. But it happened that there was a wealthy Jew at the palace. His name was Luis de Santangel. He was one of the conversos, to

whom the decree did not apply. He was masterful in public finance. After Columbus had been turned away by the King and Queen, de Santangel took up his cause and prevailed upon them to ask Columbus to return.

The story that the Queen pawned her jewels that she might secure the means with which to help Columbus is a pretty romance. Luis de Santangel provided the means out of his own private purse. He advanced the money necessary to equip the fleet, which was said to be four million maravedis. This made it possible for Columbus to undertake his voyage.

At the court at Cordova the Admiral "made friends fitted to persuade the King" . . . so it is written in an authenticated narrative by the son of Columbus, Fernando Columbo, the discoverer's biographer. The son's chronicle, which continues "Among these was Luis de Santangel, an Aragonian gentleman, clerk of the allowances in the king's household, a man of great prudence and reputation," and through this connection a conclave of learned men, including eminent cosmographers made report upon the project. The result was not encouraging, for the wise men fell far apart, a majority certain that only Spain's hemisphere contained land that was inhabited, that all the rest was sea. "In short," records Fernando Colombo, "all of these men were governed by the Spanish saying, 'St. Augustine doubts it,' and therefore it did not become the state and dignity of great sovereigns to be misled." Chagrined, Columbus determined to apply to the king of France and was on his way when fate interfered, via the "Aragonian gentleman." Here are the words of the son of Columbus:

"It was in the month of January, in the year 1492, when the Admiral departed from the camp of Santa Fe. On that same day also Luis de Santangel, who did not

approve of his going away, but was very desirous to prevent it, went to the queen, and using such words as his thoughts suggested to persuade and enlighten her, said he was surprised that her highness, who had always a great fondness for all matters of moment and consequence should now be timid in favoring this undertaking, where so little was hazarded, that might contribute in many ways to the glory of God. * * * The queen, knowing the sincerity of Santangel's words, answered, thanking him for his good advice and saying she was willing to accept the proposals upon the condition that the undertaking should be delayed until she had more leisure after the war, and yet, if he thought differently, she was satisfied that as much money as was required to fit out a fleet, should be borrowed on her jewels.

"But Santangel, perceiving that the queen had condescended upon his advise to do what she had refused all other persons, replied that there was no need of pawning her jewels, for he would do her highness that small service by lending his money. Thereupon the queen at once sent an officer post haste to bring the Admiral back, who found him upon the bridge of Pinos, two leagues from Granada. Although the Admiral was much disheartened by the disappointments and delays he had met with in his undertaking, nevertheless, being informed of the queen's wish and intention, he returned to the camp of Santa Fe, where he was graciously entertained by their Catholic Majestics, and his commission and stipulations were intrusted to their secretary, Juan de Coloma, who, by the command of their highnesses, under their hand and seal, granted him all the conditions and provisions he had demanded, without altering or subtracting anything of them."

There were Jews also who were members of the company which sailed under Columbus. His physician,

Bernal, was a Jew, as also were the surgeon, Marco, and one of the two interpreters. In order to find his way upon the seas, reliance was had upon the maps and tables prepared by Cresques, who was commonly known as the "Map Jew," and whose work had been proven and revised by Zacuto, another Jew, who was reputed to be the foremost mathematician of Spain. It is significant that the first letters written by Columbus recording his successes and describing his discoveries were addressed to Luis de Santangel and Luis de Santangel's cousin, Gabriel Sanchez, who was the converso treasurer of Aragon.

The verse of James Russell Lowell has philosophical application:

*For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears a long
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right
or wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast
frame,
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy
or shame—
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal
claim.*

Spain surely lost by the distress she brought upon the Jew. But the whole world, including Spain, shared in the gain which he helped secure for mankind. Whether the jewels of the Queen had been pawned elsewhere as cynics sportively relate, they were not available to help the discoverer. The undoubted fact, which has importance here, is that Luis de Santangel nobly stepped in and advanced the money that was needed. Isabella gave the royal stamp; but that it was given, and the means provided, and that the fleet of Columbus spread its sails for the new world, was due to a Jew. And the debt that

the world is under to the Jew would be greatly augmented, if, as a result of the investigation now being carried on by some of the learned societies of Europe, it should appear that not only was the money for the adventure furnished by a Jew but that the great navigator himself was a member of the same race.

History would indeed furnish a no less striking contrast than was seen between the banishment of the Jews from Spain, and their making the expedition of Columbus possible, if it should prove that after all, the voyage resulted in founding a new theater for the persecution of the Jew.

The distinctive principles historically avowed by America will need to be abandoned before so sinister a contrast can be established.

IV: Oppression Raging Everywhere

THE banishment of the Jews from Spain in 1492 by no means cured the ills from which that country had been suffering, nor did it terminate the history of the Jewish persecution there.

It is said that shortly after the enforcement of the decree of banishment an attempt was made to bring the Jews back again. Commerce had declined sadly; public finance showed the lack of the direction it had received from the exiles, and the industry of the country was languishing. The Jews, however, were not attracted, even if—as is not historically certified—any such overture were made them.

Persecution was a long time dying, and even after all the burnings and banishments there appear to have been Jews enough left to persecute. Two hundred years after Ferdinand and Isabella there was a Madrid burning of heretics, so-called, of whom nearly a score were Jews.

This festival of persecution was conducted with great ceremony as a part of the solemnizing of one of the puppet marriages of royalty. Boxes for the royal family and for the nobility were erected in an imposing public square. A procession marked by great pomp and ceremony passed by. Reports of the event have been preserved in great detail, but an official memorandum made by a Briton who witnessed it conveys a sufficient glimpse of it:

About 6 of ye clock the evening 19 Jews were carried to ye place of execution, being halfe a musket shot out of toun, those wch were reduced to ye xtian beliefe being 12 in number were first strangled & then burnt, the 7 vics 6 men & one woman were throun into the fire a live, the execution was not finished until 3 of ye clock in ye morning.

Hond Sir Yr Honrs most faithful & most obedt Servan.
Sir Rich Bulstrode Rich Fitz Gerald

What happened in Spain was in a general way characteristic of what happened elsewhere in Europe, but just as in Spain the opportunities of the Jews had been greater, so, when persecution set in, it was attended with more barbarous cruelties there than in other countries.

In Germany discrimination of the most austere kind was very sternly applied. A striking picture of conditions existing in the latter part of the 18th Century is given by Christian William Dohm, military councillor under Frederick the Great:

“Almost in all parts of Europe the tendency of the laws and the whole constitution of the state is to prevent as far as possible the increase of these Asiatic refugees. Residence is either denied them or granted at a fixed sum for a short time. A large proportion of Jews thus find the gates of every town closed against them; they are inhumanly driven away from every border, and nothing is left to them except to starve, or to save themselves from starvation by crime. Every guild would think itself dishonored by admitting a Jew as a member; therefore in almost every country the Hebrews are debarred from handicrafts and mechanical arts. Only men of rare genius, amidst such oppressive circumstances, retain courage and serenity to devote themselves to the fine arts and the sciences.”

Their minds not less than their bodies were threatened with starvation. The schools and universities were closed against them. They lived under the heaviest handicaps if they were permitted to live at all, and when they succeeded in accumulating property it was liable to be taken from them by force. A traveller, coming by chance upon a group of the hunted and starved Jews upon the continent during the 17th Century, might well question whether they were human beings. That these outcasts, so emphatically under the ban, should persist,

in the face of such discrimination so long continued, occasions wonder at the vitality of the race.

Bishop Greer epitomizes for Christian observers the historic miracle. "Other nationalities in the history of the world," says that student, "and some of them very great and apparently the strongest, as though they were destined forever to endure, have risen and run their course and fallen down, or fallen in, and perished and ceased to be. But here is a nationality which, through all the changing experiences and vicissitudes of the centuries, has not only preserved but extended its dominion, has not only survived but flourished and advanced; which, without losing or compromising itself, has nevertheless inspirited itself into nearly all the other nations of the world, and whose quickening and vital energy, as George Eliot observes, is beating today in the pulses, unnoted and uncredited, of many millions of people."

Martin Luther, coming into prominence and power as the mighty reformer that he was, was enough hostile to the Jews to have pleased any pursuer. "What then is to be done to this depraved, damned people?" he asked. In answer to his own question he proceeded to advise that the synagogues be reduced to ashes "for the glory of the Lord and Christianity," and then that the Christians "destroy the homes of the Jews and drive them all under one roof or into a stable like the gypsies, that all prayer books and the Hebrew Bible be forcibly taken from them and that they be forbidden to pray or to speak the name of God on pain of death, that their money be confiscated and that they be reduced to servitude."

Luther was the leader of Protestantism and his words created great animosity against the Jews. But it is easy to convict him of inconsistency regarding them. At the beginning of the Reformation he said: "They are kins-

men, brothers and cousins of our Lord; hence, if one is to glory in flesh and blood, the Jews are more closely related to Christ than we are. I beg you, therefore, my dear papists, when you have your fill of abusing me as a heretic, that you revile me as a Jew." Again he said, "A few very insipid theologians still defend this fury, and prate in their arrogance that the Jews are the slaves of the Christians and are subject to the Emperor. Wherefore, tell me, I pray, who would accept our religion, no matter how meek and forbearing he be, when he sees that they are treated by us with so much cruelty, not only in an unchristian but even in a bestial manner?" And this was another Luther fulmination: "Our fools, the papists, bishops, sophists and monks, have hitherto so dealt with the Jews that a good Christian must needs become a Jew; for they have dealt with the Jews as though the latter were dogs and not human beings, and have done nothing but scold them."

In heart and conscience there may not have been two Luthers, but there were two Lutheran epochs. In one (when he issued his book of 1523, "Jesus a Born Jew") he showed moderation, "It is my advice that they be treated gently * * * permit them to work and acquire substance among us, that they may find opportunity to be with us and about us." Then, again in "The Jews and Their Lies," 1542, he savagely speaks of "cutting their tongues through the back of their necks."

Influences that centered about one of the noble figures of history, Moses Mendelssohn, who lived two centuries after Luther's time, had very much to do with mitigating the treatment of the Jews in the German-speaking countries. The charm of his life and his great literary fame won for him a high place in the public opinion

of Germany and Austria. He made an effective contribution to freedom of the Jews in his "Jerusalem oder, die religiose Macht und Judenthum." He it was who most influenced Dohm, the Christian, to write that epoch-making work in favor of Jewish emancipation which aroused opinion in all the German States, and he it was whom Lessing embodied in his "Nathan The Wise," which proved to be one of the most popular and lasting creations in German dramatic poetry. That the great poet should in this masterpiece select a Jew as the embodiment of wisdom and virtue won for Lessing the fierce antagonism of prejudiced people. But the work powerfully strengthened the forces that were cooperating in favor of doing justice to the Jews. It was a most fortunate circumstance for them that at last support had been enlisted from among the literary masters of the age. Toleration soon became fashionable. It was manifest in the public mind and was ordered in royal decrees. Christians were urged to practice it. Universities and schools opened to the Jews. Many vexatious restrictions were removed and while complete equality was not accorded the race, its conditions were greatly improved.

France, as I have said, drove the great mass of the Jews out of the country at an earlier time and consequently there were few Jews left upon whom barbarities might be inflicted. Where the Jews were permitted to be, however, they received little better treatment than had been accorded them in Spain even during the inquisition. But there came about in that country, even if slowly, amelioration in the treatment of the Jews. Still they perchance led fugitive lives, hiding in the shadows until the period of the French Revolution. Mirabeau, foremost in the gigantic convulsion, championed their cause with great power. He received his inspiration

in favor of the race while engaged upon a secret mission on which he was sent to Prussia where he met some learned Jews, and among them Moses Mendelssohn, for whom he conceived a high admiration. In considering "Mendelssohn and the Political Reform of the Jews," Mirabeau in a public manifesto asked: "May it not be said that Mendelssohn's example, especially the outcome of his exertions for the elevation of his brethren, silences those who with ignoble bitterness insist that the Jews are so contemptible that they cannot be formed into a respectable people?" In the same treatise he urged the banishment of every humiliating distinction against the Jews and the opening to them of every avenue for earning a living: "Instead of forbidding them agriculture, handicrafts and the mechanical arts, encourage them to devote themselves to these occupations." And, again, he lamented "that so highly gifted a nation should so long have been kept in a state wherein it was impossible for its powers to develop." "Every far-sighted man," he insisted, "must rejoice in the acquisition of useful fellow citizens from among the Jews." The Jews also came naturally within the scope of the political principle by which he was animated. "Nothing," he declared, "should dominate except justice. Nothing should dominate but the rights of each man to which all else is subject."

Upon his election as a deputy from Provence to the States General, Mirabeau was asked by a Jew what he proposed to do. He replied:

"I will make a human being of you."

In establishing French emancipation Mirabeau himself is a witness to the influence of the liberal attitude of America. Already civilization was beginning to obtain its examples here. Already we had followed independence and liberty, with a government that had for foundation equality in practice. Mirabeau had the

inspiration of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and the Adamses, already embodied in our State and National Constitutions.

In England there was little relief to the picture presented by the continental countries. The Jews preceded the Normans on that island by centuries and representatives of the race were there before the time of the Saxons. All the other races, whatever the antagonisms among them, seem to have united cordially in the persecution of the Jews. They were banished under Canute but appeared again on the return of some degree of tolerance. At the time of the Crusades they were persecuted with renewed fury and their money was extorted by the monarchs. King John for example threw a Jew into prison and demanded a large sum which was not yielded up. On each day a tooth of the Jew was pulled and the demand renewed. Finally after seven days the value of the remainder increased like that of the Sibylline Books and the victim paid the price the King demanded. The movement against the Jews culminated at York where large numbers of them took refuge in the castle and perished by the sword or were burned. The work was completed under King Edward I, who banished all who were left of the race, and very few traces can be found of the Jew in England for more than three hundred years.

When Cromwell became ruler a new policy was adopted and the Jews were permitted to return. The grim old Protector could be fierce enough in war, but he was far from being without humanity, and he must have been indeed inhuman to take part in such brutal persecution as that of which the Jews had been the victims. Nor would such a course have been more revolting to his humanity than to his reason.

The Hebrew scriptures prophesied the coming of a Messiah. Whether Christ was that Messiah was a fun-

damental point of difference between the Christian and the theological Jew. Upon that point, which involved the fulfillment of the Jewish scriptures, the Jew, at least, had a right to an opinion. Could force be added to the argument upon either side by having one of the disputants burn his adversary alive or put him upon a rack and tear his limbs from their sockets? If the righteousness of the Christian religion could be judged by the actions of those who professed it, it would hardly appear to be a rational way in which to make converts to it to indulge in conduct which would disgrace savages and which of all things was most abhorrent to the divine teachings of Christ Himself.

With the policy of persecution Cromwell could not have the slightest sympathy. On the contrary he declared, "Great is my sympathy with this poor people whom God chose and to whom He gave His law." He welcomed Manasseh Ben Israel who had undertaken a special mission to secure the restoration of the Jews in England. As a believer in Christianity Cromwell favored the return of the Jews. Such a policy coincided also with his sense of the commercial advantage of his country. He saw Holland by a policy of liberality securing the carrying trade of the world, and that very much of it was won through the enterprise and commercial spirit of the despised race. A colony of powerful and wealthy Jews was established in London under Cromwell's encouragement and from that day the Jew has been an influential element in the commercial life of England.

The result Cromwell desired was apparently reached by connivance rather than by positive change of law. It is doubtful whether the law had ever actually prohibited the Jews from living in England although it had been rigorously enforced with that result in view. Upon

that point the lawyers had differed. Lord Coke, who mingled theology with the law, laid down the principle in his Commentaries that infidels were perpetual enemies, wholly without rights which could be enforced in courts of justice. He held that Jews were infidels within the scope of that principle. At a later period the court refused to follow Coke where a Jew was endeavoring to recover a debt which was justly due him. The judges also overruled the claim that a Jew was an infidel and perpetual enemy who could not be a witness. An enforcement of the "perpetual enemy" principle would have made it doubtful whether even Jews born in England or in its possessions became English subjects or that any common law rights could be claimed by them. As late as the beginning of the American Revolution the perpetual enemy principle was invoked in court before Lord Mansfield but that great jurist interrupted counsel about to quote from Coke with the statement:

"Don't quote the distinction, for the honor of Lord Coke."

The court declared the principle to be unsound and overruled it; but more than one judge of less ability and independence than Mansfield had felt bound by Coke's authority.

Acts of Parliament from time to time had given the Jews a better status. In 1740 they were recognized as the king's subjects in the colonies; and it was provided that in taking the oath of abjuration they might omit the words "on the faith of a Christian." By the end of the century nearly all discrimination against them except in their right to enjoy political privileges had been swept away. But they were compelled to wait until the coming of another generation before civil disabilities were completely removed. When a measure to that end was pending in Parliament, but which was not destined at that

time to succeed, one of its antagonists sarcastically proposed that it should be brought forward on Good Friday. Macaulay, who generally showed himself the splendid champion of justice, gave a most pertinent retort:

“We know of no day fitter for terminating long hostilities and repairing cruel wrongs,” he said, “than the day on which the religion of mercy was founded. We know of no day fitter for blotting out from the statute book the last traces of intolerance than the day on which the spirit of intolerance produced the foulest of all judicial murders, the day on which the list of the victims of intolerance, that noble list wherein Socrates and More are enrolled, was glorified by a yet greater and holier name.”

Of all the countries in modern Europe the one in which the Jew was first treated with liberality, was Holland. The Dutch signalized their independence by throwing their gates open to the persecuted of all races and creeds. At once the Jews swarmed into Holland from all the other countries of Europe. The commercial city of Amsterdam presented a spectacle where men of all religions were tolerated and found themselves secure in their persons and property. By one writer of that day it was stigmatized as “a common harbor” of all opinions and of all heresies; by another as a “cage of unclean birds.” Andrew Marvell, known in history as the incorruptible friend of John Milton, relieved his outraged heart in verse:

*Holland, that scarce deserves the name of land,
As but the offscouring of the British sand,
And so much earth as was contributed
By English pilots when they heaved the lead,
Or what by the ocean's slow alluvion fell
Of shipwrecked cockle and the muscle shell—
This indigested vomit of the sea
Fell to the Dutch by just propriety.*

*Sure when religion did itself embark
And from the East would Westward steer its ark,
It struck, and splitting on this unknown ground
Each one thence pillaged the first piece he found.
Hence Amsterdam, Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew,
Staple of sects and mint of schism grew,
That bank of conscience, where not one so strange
Opinion but finds credit and exchange.*

The noble outstanding example that courageous little Holland set must ever be considered reverently here, for Holland's high hearted humanity was our land's earliest inspiration.

In brief is here presented the black record of proscription and persecution throughout Western Europe over the dark Middle Ages, showing that, until the interposition of Holland, there was nowhere an abiding shelter for the Jews. Here are shown, too, the tenacity with which prejudice adhered to its evil courses and the slow amelioration which finally brought in the better order. Until the amelioration came after a long struggle there appears to have been, with the honorable exception of Holland, a uniform attitude of hostility. There was, indeed, greater cruelty among peoples who were willing to resort to physical torture. But everywhere there was the same intolerance. Everywhere Jews were excluded from those occupations that were essential in their struggle for the necessities of existence. Everywhere they were the objects of obloquy and contempt. Is it short of miraculous that any race should have survived such treatment and retained any vestige of humanity? Their extremity is recorded with pathos in the solemn lines of Byron:

*Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast,
How shall ye flee away and be at rest?
The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country—Israel but the grave.*

V: Pioneers Who Conquered Prejudice

THE first group of Jews to reach what is now the United States came from Europe by way of Brazil. They had fled from Portugal to escape persecution in that country, which was Spanish-like in its cruelty. If Holland had persisted in the campaign which she entered upon in Brazil, and succeeded in establishing her authority there, doubtless tolerable conditions would have resulted for the Jews, and this particular first migration to us would not have occurred. But after a short and ineffective attempt, Holland had withdrawn and left the Portuguese in possession. The treatment of the Jew, which Portugal had put in practice at home, she continued in her colony. The barbarous persecutions which she meted out to them, drove them to seek a new refuge, and they landed at New Netherland.

Thus, there arrived the original American Jew,—not seeking gold or lands, or with the purpose of establishing a government of his own, but simply fleeing from oppression. The migration was as free from any gainful purpose as was that of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Even in Spain, the most relentless enemies of the Jews had not surpassed those in Portugal. There is no more cruel chapter in the history of Jewish persecution than Portugal wrote in 1739.

Antonio José da Silva was the notable poet and dramatist of Portugal at that time. He was born in Brazil of Portuguese parentage. His father and mother had both fled to the latter country in order to escape the persecution at home and they were treated with such cruelty there, that after a time they preferred to brave the persecution of the mother land and returned to Portugal, taking their son with them. The plays of the young dramatist were full of what critics call "Aristophanic wit" and he was very popular with the people.

But there came on a frenzy of religious passion and the poet was seized and put to torture. He was burned, and, to make the torture more exquisite, his mother and wife were pinioned near him and compelled to witness his sufferings. The brief address he made in his defence is superbly worthy of preservation.

"I am," he said, "a follower of a faith God-given. According to your own teachings, God once loved this religion. I believe He still loves it, but because you maintain He no longer turns upon it the light of His countenance, you condemn to death those convinced God had not withdrawn His grace from what He once favored. You demand that we become Christians, yet you are far from being Christians yourselves. Be at least men. Act toward us as reasonably as if you had no religion at all to guide you and no revelation for your enlightenment."

That night, it is said, there was produced one of his operas at the opera house at Lisbon, and the people applauded the happy epigrams of their favorite poet, who had that day been sacrificed.

Spanish and Portuguese persecution of the Jews showed itself not merely in Brazil, but in Mexico, Peru and other parts of the southern world. It was a happy inspiration that led him to come northward, where a different destiny than he had ever enjoyed was awaiting him.

The first company of Jews to come to America were twenty-seven in number. They were destitute and hopeless. Their personal effects were seized by the ship owners to pay for the expenses of their passage and in addition two of their number were taken into custody to be held as hostages until all had been paid.

Peter Stuyvesant was the Governor of New Netherland. He had no affection for the Jews. He was suffi-

ciently burdened with trouble, with the Indians pressing upon him and the New England Colonies asserting claims against him, and, although he was most martial in his disposition, he thought it prudent to compromise with his enemies. But he wanted nothing to do with the Jews. He urged upon his home government that none of the Jewish nation should be permitted to "infest" New Netherland. All unconscious that he was laying the foundation of the mightest Hebrew city the world had even seen, he blindly resisted the distinction that fate was conferring upon him.

Holland, however, assumed a liberal policy. It was the same policy that she enforced with regard to the Jews who swarmed across her borders from other countries, and it was altogether likely that she would not set it aside in one of her colonies. And in addition to the general policy of Holland there was a special reason why the Jews should not be ill treated in New Netherland. Members of that race had large investments in the West India Company and some had been chosen to the Board of Directors. The Governor was informed by the home government that the course he recommended was "inconsistent with reason and justice" and it was declared to be the law that the Jews were to be allowed to "reside and trade in New Netherland." There was the one condition annexed, that they should have the rights of residence and trading "provided the poor among them shall be supported by their own nation." This condition has been followed by the shining result of societies to care for the orphan, for the sick and the poor and to provide education, that reflect the highest honor upon the race.

One of the first Jews to reach New Netherland showed himself possessed of the spirit of John Hampden. Mr. Louis Marshall, who is a most competent judge, calls Aser Levy, who was this immigrant, "the protagonist

of Jewish rights and liberties in America." Time and again he resented the discrimination which Stuyvesant put upon his race. There was a provision that the burghers should stand guard, but Stuyvesant, although warned by his Dutch directors who "observed with displeasure certain of his actions," declared that this requirement did not apply to Jews, and, instead of their standing guard, they were subjected to a special tax. Asser Levy refused to pay the tax, just as Hampden resisted the ship money imposition. Levy was informed that it was imposed upon Jews alone because they did not stand guard. He replied: "I have not asked to be exempted, I demand the right to stand guard." He could not be permitted to do that because, they told him, he was not a citizen. "I will become one," he replied. And immediately he entered into a vigorous contest for naturalization, and he kept up the battle until he was naturalized.

He thus became the first Jewish citizen of America, and made true the sententious characterization of Mr. Marshall, who says aptly of this first Jewish immigration that it "will serve equally as an inspiration to the Jew, and as a valuable lesson to fellow-citizens of other denominations, to become better acquainted with the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers who, when the inhabitants of what was destined to become the cosmopolis consisted of a mere handful, landed here as the pioneers of Jewish settlement. They were poor and humble, as were the Fathers of the Knickerbockers. They were unfortunate, as were most of the dwellers in the infant colony. They were imbued with a deep and abounding trust in God, a virtue possessed by the greater part of our early American colonists. They differed in one respect only—they were the victims of the prejudice and of the intolerance of the entire world."

Two years before the arrival of the first Jew in New

Netherland, Rhode Island enacted that "all men of whatever nation soever they may be, that shall be received inhabitants of any of the towns, shall have the same privileges as Englishmen, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

The action of this colony reflected the attitude of Roger Williams, who of all the early colonists of this country was not surpassed in toleration in his treatment of men who differed with him in race and creed. Under this liberal sanction Newport became the favorite refuge of the Jews in North America, and they honorably associated themselves with the development of the town. It was held that they could not be admitted to citizenship on account of an old law, which prohibited "admission free to this colony" to those who did not profess the Christian religion. But the Jews were protected in their property rights, and in carrying on trade were given equal freedom with the other members of the community.

One of them, Aaron Lopez, engaged in commerce with great success, and came to be recognized as the leading merchant of New England. It is said that he had thirty ships constantly employed in trade with the most distant part of the world.

The attitude of the Puritans was generally not one of toleration, and it might be expected that they would have shown little friendship for the Jew. But historical research made by Joseph Liebowitch, a Jewish writer, acquits the Puritan of ungenerous treatment of the members of the race. "If the Puritans' conduct toward the Quaker was harsh and intolerant," declares this review, "their behavior toward the Jews who strayed into their midst was, on the other hand, tolerant and indulgent. A thorough research does not disclose one single case of anything bordering on persecution of the Jew by the

Puritan." This is a striking conclusion in view of the fact that the general attitude of the New England Puritan of that day was not at all one of religious toleration.

It was in the commonly accepted spirit that Governor Winslow wrote to Governor Winthrop: "Speaking of universal tolerance I utterly abhor it as such as would make us odious to all Christian Commonwealths." In generous contrast to this sentiment is the treatment accorded Solomon Franco, who had found his way into Massachusetts in 1647, and, failing to realize upon a private claim, was left without means of sustenance. The Governor and Council liberally gave a grant out of the public treasury of six shillings a week "for ten weeks until he can get his passage into Holland so as he goeth within that time." Franco, it is believed by Jewish historical authorities, was the first of his race in Boston. Shortly afterwards Judah Monis, a Jew, became an instructor at Harvard where he remained for forty years. But he was baptized with much ceremony before his appointment and he married a Christian.

The steps by which the Jews secured an equality of rights and of political power in the various colonies and states, form an interesting chapter in our history. They appear nowhere to have been ill-treated. In some portions of the country they met with prejudice and discrimination, but on the whole they found America during the colonial period a paradise compared with what Europe had been.

Maryland appears to have triumphed over prejudices with the greatest difficulty. The struggle over religious liberty there continued long after the adoption of the National Constitution. One who did not first declare his belief in the Christian religion could not hold office or take oath in that state, and by one act it was prescribed "that if any person

shall hereafter by writing or speaking blaspheme God, or deny our Savior to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity," the first offense shall be punished by boring through the tongue, a second offense by branding upon the forehead and for a third offense "death without benefit of clergy." A bill to remove disability, known as the "Jew Bill," drafted by William Pinckney, said to be acting under the inspiration of Washington, was defeated session after session, and finally passed the House of Delegates in 1825 by one plurality with nearly half of the members absent.

It is refreshing to read the history of colonial Newport, and to witness the rich development that came from its human atmosphere and the responsiveness to its broad spirit of toleration. There were many ports as well or better situated, and yet the influence of its liberality is strikingly seen in the prosperity which it attained. Moses Lopez preceded his brother Aaron to Newport. New Netherland had become New York, and Moses Lopez was a citizen under British law. He and his brother established factories, built ships and conducted a wide range of industry. They did not forget the duties of citizenship in their pursuit of commerce.

One of the brothers, in concert with Christians, founded a seminary, and Moses joined with another Hebrew, Jacob Josephs, in helping to establish a community library. Jews flocked to Newport from every port. Some came from Spain, some from Portugal, others from Jamaica and they all found welcome there. As was declared by Governor Cozzens of Rhode Island in an historical review half a century or more ago, Newport by 1760 was attracting world-wide attention. "Hundreds of wealthy Israelites, distinguished merchants," he said, "removed here and entered largely into business." In

the sweep of their operations they conducted seventeen factories, making sperm oil and candles, carried on many distilleries, then not under the ban, but in which they had fashionable competition in New England, sugar refineries, rope walks, and many large furniture factories, shipping most of the things they made out of the country.

In 1770 seventeen West India ships entered the port on one day. Whaling was a leading pursuit. The prosperity of the port promised to become the foremost center of commerce in the country. It never attained that distinction, but it did achieve a fine success, not merely in the prosperity that came, but in the reputation for sound business enterprise and integrity that it established; and the Jews played a leading part in it all.

One of the earliest Presidents of Yale College, Ezra Stiles, who had long been a minister of the church in Newport, said of them: "They are marvels for giving help." It is worth while recalling the tribute which Longfellow paid in his lines "In the Jewish cemetery at Newport":

*How strange it seems! These Hebrews in their
graves,*

*Close by the street of this fair seaport town,
Silent beside the never-silent waves,
At rest in all this moving up and down!*

*The very names recorded here are strange,
Of foreign accent, and different climes;
Alvares and Rivera interchange.
With Abraham and Jacob of old times.*

*Gone are the living, but the dead remain,
And not neglected; for a hand unseen,
Scattering its bounty, like a summer rain,
Still keeps their graves and their remembrance green.*

*How came they here? What burst of Christian
hate*

*What persecution, merciless and blind,
Drove o'er the sea—that desert desolate—
These Ishmaels and Hagar's of mankind?*

*Pride and humiliation, hand in hand,
Walked with them through the world where'er
they went;
Trampled and beaten were they as the sand,
And yet unshaken as the continent.*

*For in the background figures vague and vast,
Of patriarchs and prophets, rose sublime;
And all the great traditions of the Past
They saw reflected in the coming time!*

Philadelphia as the seat of the revolutionary government was a social center and a most interesting town at that period. Dr. S. Weir Mitchell gives a delightful glimpse of the town in his "Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker." Among his heroines is a witty young Jewess, and she is shown as one of the foremost of the young women in society there. She is described by Dr. Mitchell as "the elder Miss Franks, who was rich and charming enough to have many men at her feet despite her Hebrew blood." How little her Hebrew blood operated as a handicap is shown by the way in which the author continually recurs to her. "As to Miss Franks, she hates to be called Becky," says another of the heroines; "when I say I hope to see Mr. Washington hanged she declares he is too fine a man, and she would only hang the ugly ones." And later a letter is introduced into the book, written by Miss Franks, giving an account of what is going on in the British headquarters in New York, for Miss Franks was a Loyalist, very naturally, because her father was the financial representative of the King in the colonies, as had been his father before him. She was not regarded as a Tory, but

as a foreign unfortunate and a part of the English régime. Her name was taken by the author from real life. The members of her family had long been well known and some gave strong support to the cause of the revolution.

David Franks was Aide de Camp to Benedict Arnold, and in an inquiry conducted by hard-headed Continental officers his loyalty was proven to their satisfaction. Another of the family, Colonel Isaac Franks, was upon Washington's staff. They were brave men in battle,—three cousins of Rebecca Franks and cousins also to the wife of Haym Salomon, another Jew, one of the most notable men of the Revolutionary period.

Not less distinguished was the patriotic Gratz family, which had another Rebecca in the social life of Philadelphia. It was reported of her that Washington Irving came under her spell and that she dismissed his suit with the pathetic words: "Race and religion outlast youth, and life is better as a happy remembrance than a mourned reality."

It is tradition that the Rebecca in Ivanhoe was this same Rebecca, selected by Scott as a tribute to his friend Irving.

There is no doubt that in the later colonial period the Jews, though far from numerous, were as prominent in the social life of some of the colonies as they came to be in the fighting in the Revolution. They were not merely prominent in Newport and Philadelphia, but elsewhere, as in South Carolina, where the city of Charleston boasted that of her 600 Jews not one was a Tory.

The British by official proclamation declared one of the Jews of Georgia, Benjamin Sheftall, to be a "very great rebel," and when his mother died, the city of Savannah expressed its sympathy as a mark of appreciation of Sheftall by providing that a public street should be broadened so that the burial place of his mother might come within the city's care.

VI: Ardent In The War For Independence

AT THE time of the Revolution the Jews formed a relatively small portion of our population. They were almost negligible in the count and this small minority rendered service of great value. They contributed generously of their means, but, as President Cleveland said, "that feature of their service, splendid though it be, was not the greatest." They gave valuable help and counsel in administration and also did effective fighting. The Jews were found in the contingents from nearly all the colonies and their records as soldiers were brilliant.

The fundamental issues involved in the war of independence made an appeal to men of all classes and of all ages. Young men may have been stirred as in other great conflicts by the promptings of an innate martial disposition, but the man of years was found on the fighting line as well as the boy. A member of the family of Gomez, who was not quite sixty-nine, was told he was too old, and his reply was, "I can stop a bullet just as well as any other man." Details concerning the history of the individual soldiers are far less available than in our modern wars, but records enough survive to show that the Jewish soldiers played a brave part in the Revolution. The Jews were almost without exception loyal to the patriot cause; only a few of them were Tories, and that chiefly on account of their official relations which at the time existed with England. This fidelity to the cause of the Colonies was exceptional.

It must be remembered that it was a time of loyalist hegiras. Shiploads of Tories sailed from Boston for Halifax with Lord Howe and the swarm of royalists was augmented from other ports.

Since there was no general classification of population which will enable us to determine with exactness what the different races did in the Revolution, we may make

only inferences from the outstanding examples afforded by men of that race.

Mordecai Sheftall of Georgia, spurning temptations to renounce the cause of the Revolution, became Commissary General at the South, when ammunition was hardly to be had at any price and food was scarce. The place he held was a most trying one. Sheftall, however, did his work well, and in addition to being Commissary he took part in the fighting. He did heroic things at the siege of Savannah, was almost mortally wounded, and he put his salary at the disposal of the doctors in order that they might buy medicines for his comrades.

The names of Gratz, Franks, Sampson, Jacobs, Bush, Mordecai, Levy, Moses, Meyer, Phillips, Seixas and Hays, Mendes and De la Mott, Etting, Cohen and Benjamin barely suggest the list. Their service was most honorable.

Manuel Mordecai Noah of North Carolina was a man of wealth. At the outset he was ready to take part in the fighting. He served upon the staff of General Marion in the brilliant campaigns of that officer. He afterwards served upon the staff of Washington. He was credited with a fortune of £20,000, and he turned it over to the use of the country. He held his fortune as well as his life at the disposal of the cause.

When bills of credit were issued in 1776, from which the element of credit was greatly lacking, the names of Jews were conspicuous among the subscribers. Among them were Benjamin Levy of Philadelphia and Benjamin Jacobs of New York, and among subscribers of subsequent issues may be found the names of Samuel Lyon of New York, and Isaac Moses and Hyman Levy of Philadelphia. These bills made little appeal to one who desired solidly in his investments, and they presented far less attraction to the speculator than opportunities in private business which existed at that time. But the

money was needed to support the army of Washington in the field and that was the controlling purpose which animated the giver.

Haym Salomon was one of the most remarkable men of that period. Outside of the governing circles of the country he was little known, even in the time of the Revolution, for he was modest and unassuming and what he did was brought to light by others. He easily ranked next to Robert Morris as the man who made it possible to finance the war.

Haym Salomon was a Polish Jew; his family were cultivated people; he was liberally educated, had a command of several languages and was well trained for almost any administrative work. He preceded his famous fighting countrymen, Pulaski and Kosciusko, to this country and when the Revolution began, he showed that he had imbibed strongly the sentiment in favor of independence. He was captured by the British at the outbreak of the war and sentenced to prison. Regaining his liberty, he was soon afterwards arrested again on the suspicion that he was attempting to carry out a plan ascribed to Washington, to destroy the British ships and supplies in the harbor of New York. He was tried by a court martial and with little delay sentenced to be shot. In some way he made his escape,—it is said, by the very practical means of advancing ready money to the jailers—and he soon found his way to Philadelphia. He attempted to secure a commission in the army, but his experience in war was not such as to overcome the objection which Washington and his staff had to foreign officers.

He then applied to Robert Morris, who had become the financier of the Revolution, and there he had less difficulty, for he possessed the obvious qualification of a

foreign acquaintance, was in possession of considerable means himself and was of a patent aptitude for finance. He was at once set to work by Morris to handle public funds and their negotiation. He was chosen as Paymaster General of the army and navy of France in America, and as the financial adviser to the French Minister and in many important financial transactions he acted as the agent of other European governments.

He took a foremost part in transferring the subsidies of France and Holland to this country; and since there was always a pressing demand for money, he negotiated advances upon these subsidies before they actually arrived.

References to Salomon like the following may be found in the Diary of Robert Morris: "I sent for Salomon and desired him to try in every way he could to raise money." And again: "Salomon, the broker, came, and I asked him to leave no stone unturned to find out money and the means by which we can obtain it." It was learned after his death that for the very important service he rendered as Paymaster General of the French army and navy in America he would not accept any compensation, and that he also received no compensation for the support that he induced the Spanish sovereign to give, and indeed that service itself was a secret. But this was by no means all.

The members of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia were many of them far from their homes and were unable to get remittances of money. They were upon the verge of starvation. James Madison wrote to Edmund Randolph: "I have for some time been a pensioner on the favor of Haym Salomon, a Jew Broker." Randolph knew Haym Salomon, as the record discloses that he himself had received assistance from him. The cynic, however, is apt to ask what interest was paid for

the favors which Salomon bestowed. That soon appears; for Madison again writes to Randolph:

"I am relapsing fast into distress. The case of my brethren"—evidently referring to the Continental Congress and Continental Army brethren—"is equally alarming. I am almost ashamed to acknowledge my wants so incessantly to you but they begin to be so urgent that it is impossible to suppress them. The kindness of our little friend in Front Street, near the Coffee House, is a fund that will preserve me from extremities, but I never resort to it without great mortification—as he absolutely rejects all recompense. The price of money is so usurious that he thinks it ought to be extorted from none of those who do not aim at speculations. To a necessitous delegate he *gratuitously* spares a supply out of his private stock."

It was surely a noble company of statesmen and soldiers to whom Haym Salomon extended the helping hand in the time of their distress. Among them were not merely James Madison and Edmund Randolph but also Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee, Mifflin, Quaker President of the Congress, St. Clair, the first Governor of the North West Territory, General Steuben, Instructor General of the Continental forces, and, saddest of all to chronicle, the financier of the Revolution, worn-out Robert Morris, with his fortune consumed and himself with it in the public service.

Haym Salomon himself died a poor man. It was through his very patriotism and the unstinted use of his own fortune that misfortune found the chance to crush him. He invested heavily in the securities of the Government, or what was called the Government, issued as they were under a great variety of names—"Loan Office Certificates," "Treasury Certificates," "Commission Certificates," "Continental Certificates," "Virginia State Cer-

tificates," "Robert Morris Advances," "Special Loans," and the total of all of them rose above \$650,000. The aggregate of Salomon's advances to the Government was probably greater than any fortune in the country at that time.

It is not difficult to see what the public duty in such a situation requires; but the difference between the duty that is only seen and the duty that is discharged is often very great. Not one penny of the gigantic debt of honor which the country owed Haym Salomon has ever been paid. Congress has grown eloquent over it. It has toasted the hero's memory and proposed a memorial medal. But the debt remains unpaid to this day. Two Congressional Committees, a half century afterwards, made a full investigation of the subject and they formally declared that although Salomon "endorsed a great portion of those bills of exchange for the amount of the loans and subsidies our government obtained in Europe of which he negotiated the entire sums and the execution of which duty occupied a great portion of his valuable time, still there was charged scarcely a fractional percentage to the United States."

Shortly after the end of the war Salomon died suddenly with no near relatives in the country except very young children. He left no will and his estate was administered by strangers. His heirs could find few traces of his property and they applied to Congress two generations afterward for payment of what was due his estate. The investigations to which I have referred were conducted by the Senate Committee on Claims of the Twenty-Ninth Congress and by a House Committee of the Thirtieth Congress. The reports of both of these committees agreed as to the valuable character of Salomon's service and his advances to the government, but the sums recommended were never paid.

The Saturday Courier of Philadelphia of October 30, 1847, contains a minutely detailed article entitled "Financiers of the Revolution Number One" which quotes from "a manuscript letter yet extant in the treasury department," in which the superintendent writing of conditions in the Revolution says: "The treasury was so much in arrears to the servants in the public offices that many of them could not without payment perform their duties, but must have gone to jail for debts they had contracted to enable them to live." The article cites a document presented to a Committee of Congress by the Bank of North America, the first and only bank chartered by the Revolutionary Congress. This document shows that funds from time to time were paid on Haym Salomon's account to the soldiers and statesmen whose names I have already given.

Thus Salomon's good deeds, brought out long after his death, convict him both of humanity and patriotism. One of the finest touches in the history of that heroic time is seen in the spectacle of this Jew extending without recompense the helping hand to the Revolutionary generals and statesmen in the time of their sore distress.

Haym Salomon offsets the reproach of Shylock—with the difference that Haym Salomon was a Jew in the flesh while Shylock was a stage Jew, offspring of the imagination of a great poet.

Nor were the services of Salomon by any means confined to private munificence, if private munificence it can be called, which so vitally affected the means of living of the men who were directing the Revolution. His account at the Bank of North America, which was far larger during that period than that of any other customer, shows that there was charged to him as paid to Robert Morris, the Public Financier, more than two hundred thousand dollars. The net indebtedness of the country to Haym

Salomon appears to have been about four hundred thousand dollars. Over a century afterwards it was proposed to found a national university in his honor, using for that purpose a part of the immense amount of interest due upon his advances to the government. That proposal came to naught.

If Haym Salomon were not a Jew who is there who would deny him the title of patriot?

The services of this man make all of us today his debtors.

VII: *Leadership In Religious Freedom*

AFTER the winning of the war of the revolution there were many problems of the first magnitude bequeathed by it, as by all wars, which drew heavily upon the resources of the people; and there was no central government to deal with these problems. There was no central public opinion. Newspapers did not circulate beyond the borders of the state and often not beyond the borders of the town, in which they were printed. There were few men who took a continental point of view. Nearly all men were for their own localities and thought only of them, and had it not been for the influence of a man of the unequalled authority of Washington, a long period of chaos might have reigned and the separate states, even if their independence had been maintained, would have reached union only over a very thorny road.

But Washington had the supreme regard of his countrymen. Congress recorded the prevalent opinion in the vote by which it conveyed to him the assurance that he possessed the love and confidence of his fellow citizens, and that his fame would be transmitted to posterity and his virtues would animate remotest ages. However laudatory the sentiment, this vote doubtless expressed the sincere opinion of his countrymen.

Washington was profoundly impressed with a sense of the necessity of union. He very clearly saw the impossibility of achieving important results without union. "Il-liberality, jealousy," he said, "and local policy mix too much in our counsels. A confederation appears to me to be little more than a shadow without substance. Our resources are ample and increasing; but while they are grudgingly applied, or not applied at all, we give a vital stab to public faith, and will sink, in the eye of Europe, into contempt."

The difficult work of establishing the constitution

and the first amendments was finally accomplished. Along with other signal things one thing emerged which was the outcome of the battle of the centuries which had been hotly waged about the Jew. Religious freedom was established.

Dr. Max Nordau, an eminent Hebrew, avers that the freedom of the Jews in Europe resulted from the French Revolution, the logic of which demanded freedom. "The men of 1792 emancipated us," he declared, "only for the sake of principle."

Other writers of high authority, and upon better grounds, trace the emancipation to the Virginia enactment of religious liberty, for that act, passed in 1785, after a bitter and long continued contest, antedated by years any possible result from the French Revolution—and even Mirabeau pronounces this judgment. It may be readily comprehended how the Virginia Act exercised a perceptible influence upon France and through France upon European opinion broadly. Thomas Jefferson was then our minister to France and he would naturally have brought the Virginia Act to the attention of European statesmen. He says, indeed, in a letter written to James Madison in December, 1786:

"The Virginia Act for Religious Freedom has been received with infinite approbation in Europe and propagated with enthusiasm. I do not mean by governments but by the individuals which compose them. It has been translated into French and Italian, has been sent to most of the courts of Europe. It is inserted in the new Encyclopedia and is appearing in most of the publications respecting America. It is honorable for us to have produced the first legislature who had the courage to declare that the reason of man may be trusted with the formation of his own opinion."

Virginia's act, thus happily presented to Europe, was

in consonance with developed sentiment beyond her own state borders, though it cannot be reckoned the origin of the principle it contained; yet a further happy circumstance it was that her spokesman was opportunely at the very center of European impressionability, and that spokesman, one who in his last testament willed that in his lasting epitaph it should be inscribed, not that Thomas Jefferson was President of the United States, but "Author of The Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom."

Showing how close in heart on this one vital principle the leading colonies were, it is notable that eight years before Virginia's act was finally passed a similar provision had been inserted in the New York State constitution, while, as early as 1780, the constitution of Massachusetts established the principle of religious liberty beyond the power of any legislature to repeal. The Massachusetts declaration was:

"No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience."

This declaration and similar ones, as those in the Virginia Act and in other states, culminated in the Constitution of the United States, which prohibited any religious test in any official oath, and the first amendment almost contemporaneous with it prescribed that:

"Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Thus whether it was Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Virginia or New York that blazed the trail, the United States clearly pointed the pathway to Europe. Regardless of the calendar and even of her own authentic claims, it has always been agreeable to the New England disposition

to exalt Virginia's noble progressiveness at that early period. Governor and Chief Justice Simeon E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, a high authority, writes in his "Modern Political Institutions" (Little, Brown & Co.):

"Virginia, in 1786, in a statute drafted by Jefferson, proclaimed it 'to be a natural right of mankind that religious opinions shall never offset civil capacities, and that no man can be compelled to support any religious worship.' This declaration was circulated widely in southern Europe. Madison had defended it in the legislature with his accustomed vigor.

"Next came the Ordinance of 1787, to lay the foundations of government for the vast territory out of which sprang the commonwealths surrounding the great lakes. It has not the ring, upon this point, of the statute of Virginia, but it does declare that no person shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, so long as he keeps the public peace.

"That same summer the convention that framed our Constitution was sitting with closed doors in Philadelphia. Its work was, no doubt, in the main, a rearrangement of existing materials. It took American institutions and put them in a new order and combination. But it did more. Every delegate came from a state where some civil distinctions had always flowed from religious distinctions. There was probably not more than one who would not have considered himself an adherent of the Christian faith. They found an unbroken current of authority in favor of uniting civil and religious institutions, to some extent in every government. And yet at the call of the youngest of them, Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, fresh from his law studies in the Inner Temple, they were ready to take this great step forward, by forever prohibiting all religious tests for office or

public trust, under the United States. He made the proposition a month after the enactment of the ordinance of 1787. The committee of detail to which it was referred took no notice of the suggestion in their report; but Pinckney secured its adoption as an amendment, and it stands as the close of the last article but one.

"In advocating the ratification of the Constitution in the South Carolina convention, a year later, he insisted on this feature as all important. There was, he said, but one great government in Europe which provided for the security of private rights, and that withheld from part of its subjects the equal enjoyment of their religious liberties. Avoiding this error, we were to 'be the first perfectly free people the world has ever seen.'

"The provision against religious tests for office left Congress still free to set up a religious establishment. One may well fail without the other. Such has been the slow course of English history. New Hampshire, where Roman Catholics were debarred from office until 1877, was the first to propose a further guaranty of religious liberty as an amendment to the Constitution. Virginia and New York acted promptly in the same direction, and it was for want of this, among other provisions, that North Carolina refused to ratify the constitution at all.

"At the first session of the first Congress, such an amendment was proposed to the States. It was set third in a list of twelve, preceded by one to regulate the number of representatives in the lower house, and another to prevent Congress from increasing the pay of its members after their election. The States impatiently swept both of these away, and so put at the head of the ten which they ratified the provision against church establishments and church domination—fitly placed first, because the most important of all."

The Jew took little part in the public discussions which led to the adoption of the Constitution. He had not at that time made his appearance in the politics of any country, certainly not since the time of the Inquisition in Spain. But he was profoundly concerned in the great outcome, which secured for him the fruits of the long battle in behalf of religious liberty; and he was sensitive over the denial of political rights. There is a story of a visit made by a rabbi upon the Board of Censors of Pennsylvania, after the Revolution. One of the members of his Synagogue had been chosen by his Christian fellow citizens to some public office, and he was confronted with a law which prescribed a religious test in the oath of public officials. The rabbi declared that the test was unjust to a member of a race that had given loyal support to the Continental army; some with the militia and others by contributing of their funds to maintain the cause. He was met by the scornful declaration of one of the officials: "There are enough white men to hold the public offices." The rabbi replied with the question: "Do you happen to have one here?"

This rabbi, Gershom Mendes Seixas, was minister of Shearith Israel, first American Hebrew Congregation, which long before had been established in New York. He was the friend of Washington. Among the many educated Hebrews who had come to this country in the century preceding the Revolution, he was conspicuous. When Columbia College was chartered he was chosen one of its first Trustees, and his advice was relied upon in its classical courses. He was of the mould of Moses Mendelssohn. When the British captured New York, loyalty to their cause was demanded, and the response of the rabbi was to close his synagogue and move with his followers first to New England and then to Philadelphia, where, at the dedication of a new synagogue, he invoked

"the blessing of Almighty God on the members of these States in Congress assembled, and on His Excellency George Washington, Commanding General of these Colonies." When, at the end of the war, he returned to New York and to his first Congregation, he was one of the first American ministers to preach a Thanksgiving Day sermon, and was one of the clergymen personally participating in the ceremony of the inauguration of General Washington as first President of the United States.

He instituted at his synagogue a prayer for the Government in English, previously read in Spanish—insisting that, as Americans, his Congregation could not tolerate the use of any tongue but the sublime one of Israel and that of their adopted country. Upon his tombstone is engraved: "The Patriot Minister of the American Revolution," and "One of the Incorporators of Columbia College."

VIII: Meriting Washington's Approbation

THE protest of the Philadelphia rabbi against the exclusion of the Jew from office on account of religion, over a century ago, was a prelude to the admission of members of the race to politics. The service they had rendered in the army and in trade and industry had won for them the popular regard, which flowered out in the conferring of office.

An early illustration was furnished by the State of Georgia. There were relatively few Jews in Georgia at the close of the Revolution. They formed an extremely small percentage of the total population. Yet the public records show that a considerable number of them were given offices of public trust. They were prominent in revising the State Constitution, became County Justices and had membership in both houses of the Legislature. In March, 1801, when Thomas Jefferson first took oath as President of the United States, Georgia inaugurated as Governor David Emanuel who was a Jew. According to the records he was a man of unusual ability. He had been a soldier, a legislator and a judge. The Georgia Gazeteer summed up his merits in the phrase, "A man of fine capacity, inflexible integrity." This elevation of Emanuel to the foremost office in the State was establishing a precedent for the rest of the world which it was slow to follow. It was a half century afterwards before England conferred any comparable honor upon a Jew, London choosing David Salomons, a Jew, for Lord Mayor in 1855. Twenty years before that time the first Jewish juror had been accepted, a Liverpool silversmith named Joseph Hess, who was sworn in on the Pentateuch in 1835. In 1837 Queen Victoria knighted Moses Montefiore as a reward for his noble beneficence, which had by no means been confined to his race.

A Jew was indeed elected to Parliament more than 80

years ago. He was a grandson of Anselm Rothschild but he could not qualify because the official oath was required "on the true faith of a Christian." Macaulay referred pungently to the denial of representation to an English constituency because it chose a progressive citizen who was a Jew. "A congregation of sovereigns may be forced to summon a Jew to their assistance. The scrawl of a Jew on the back of a piece of paper may be worth more than the royal word of three kings or the national faith of three new American republics."

In America, however, the Jews had no deeply seated prejudice to overcome. The action of Georgia in making Emanuel governor at that early time showed that very little account was taken of race.

The first Jew chosen to the United States Senate was David Yulee, born Levy. He was one of the first two senators chosen by Florida. In the period preceding the Civil War there were Jews from both the North and the South in Congress, Henry M. Phillips and Lewis Levin, of Pennsylvania, and Emanuel Hart, of New York, among them.

At about the same time there appeared from Louisiana a very powerful character who was destined to play an important part not merely in the government at Washington but especially in the history of the southern Confederacy. Judah P. Benjamin was a close friend of Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs and Alexander H. Stevens. He gained distinction at once by reason of his intellectual power, his independence of opinion and his force in expressing it. At an early age he became a member of the national Senate. When the Southern States set up their government, Benjamin was its first Attorney-General. Afterwards he became its Secretary of War and in the latter place he was by no means popular with the politicians and neither did he satisfy the staff officers of some

of the generals, for he made short work of conventions and formalities. General Lee remarked of him when opposition was made to a Benjamin order: "The trouble with him is that his first thought is not to be polite but right—and what he thinks at the start is usually what others think last." He afterwards became Secretary of State, thus holding the three most important positions in the Confederate Cabinet. After the fall of Richmond and the overthrow of the Confederacy he went to London where he became a recognized leader of the bar, the professional income credited to him passing \$200,000 a year.

Franklin Pierce had become acquainted with Benjamin when he was a student and the good opinion which he then formed was increased by what he saw of the capacity of Benjamin in public office, and he urged him to accept appointment as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Thus Mr. Wilson had a precedent of half a century when he summoned a Jew, Louis D. Brandeis, to this topmost judicial position.

In diplomacy three Presidents have honored Oscar Straus. Henry Morgenthau was subsequently called to the same foreign post as that held by Straus. Mr. Harding assigned to the administration of our National Merchantile Marine, with problems the most complex, Albert D. Lasker, American nephew of the celebrated German Liberal leader who was able to stand against Bismarck; and for the rounding out of our War Finance Board's stupendous program, and the perfecting of Federal Farm Loan policies he relied upon Eugene Meyer. So, too, it was that Jules S. Bache and Michael Friedsam have served the nation in confidential diplomacy abroad and that Paul Warburg resigned international banking to perfect Federal Reserve Bank organization.

During the trying period of war, and afterwards President Wilson called many Jewish citizens into close co-operation. Particularly earnest adviser was Dr. Stephen S. Wise—who in the very earliest stages of the war was a volunteer so ardent to support his country that thinking only of service he hurried even to take a workman's full hours among shipyard laborers. Mr. Wilson's reliance upon Mr. Baruch, his confidence in Mr. Lehman and Mr. Rosenwald, his summons to the patriotism of Samuel Gompers are well known and make inspiring war chapters.

The participation of the Jews in the politics of this country has steadily increased and at last discrimination against them has practically been banished, so that today they are probably represented in political and judicial offices nearly in proportion to their numbers.

But to return to the service of the Jew in war: what was called "Jimmy Madison's war" was almost wholly an outcome of international rivalries in trade. American interests became a football in the contest between Napoleon and his enemies. The action of cabinets, the rulings in council and the various decrees of retaliation threatened to have the result of completely destroying American commerce. The substance of the European nations was being consumed in wars. Our country was at peace and, with the fullness of the resources of a great new country, it was fast developing into a powerful nation. It is not to be wondered at that we should have keenly resented the European policies, and, if Germany a few years ago made war upon us when she attacked our ships and neutral vessels on the high seas, having Americans aboard, certainly England made war upon us when her warships stopped our merchantmen, and impressed in

many instances native-born Americans from their decks, and compelled them to fight the battles of England.

Accordingly we went to war, and it is extraordinary that we emerged from it without humiliation, for we were almost wholly unprepared. The war came during a lull in the fighting in Europe, when the veteran armies of England and her ships of war had nothing else to do at the time except to conquer us. It is remarkable under the circumstances that we should have emerged from the war as well as we did so far as the fighting was concerned, for our victories and defeats upon land and water did not come far from balancing each other. We at least succeeded in preserving our self-confidence, which, even if sometimes disagreeable, is an important quality for a young nation to possess.

The Jews taking part in this war especially distinguished themselves in privateering—*Vide Leon Hühner, Curator, American-Jewish Historical Society.* A privateer was the instrument at that time by which we inflicted the greatest measure of damage upon the enemy. Perhaps the outstanding Jew in this war was Uriah Levy of Philadelphia. He was a mere boy but he secured control of a little schooner, upon the deck of which he fastened a huge naval gun. His comrades were not willing to tempt the seas upon such a frail craft. Levy, however, attacked the first ship he saw flying the British flag, and in his choice of the enemy he showed more enthusiasm than judgment, for he was quickly captured and taken in the ship's dungeon to England. In London he was given a good deal of liberty and had an opportunity to gratify his sense of Americanism. One day a British notable loudly denounced Andrew Jackson, who was Levy's haloed Battle of New Orleans hero; and Levy's conclusive argument in reply was to knock the Briton down.

Ultimately Levy found his way back to America again, secured another ship, selected with better judgment, and before the war was over he had distinguished himself. He captured enemy ships, made prizes, and won the recognition of the national navy.

Though he did not become a popular national figure as has Commodore Levy, one of the most daring and successful of American patriots on the sea in the war of 1812 was Captain John Ordroneaux, a French-Jew, privateer, of New York. Edgar Stanton Maclay, as a historian of the American Navy, devotes an entire chapter to Ordroneaux. He cruised the entire British coast, and in one month took nine valuable prizes in the British Channel. Chased, at various stages of his voyage, by seventeen men-of-war, he managed always to escape, while the goods he captured and brought safe to port sold for three million dollars, beside which he secured large sums in specie. His greatest exploit was, in a ship of seventeen guns, engaging the British forty-four gun frigate *Endymion* which after having forty-nine killed and thirty-seven wounded asked for quarter and surrendered—officers and men binding themselves not again to serve against the United States.

With the return of peace there was a glut of naval officers compared with the number of places to be filled and Levy, without powerful backers, had his claims passed over, but later he was made a Captain and accorded the title of Commodore. He was then incautious enough to venture upon a reform. He was one of the first to challenge a sacred naval tradition. He denied that the Ship's Master should have the power to string up his sailors and lash them as he saw fit. He declared that flogging was barbarous. He suffered the lot of many other reformers, was caricatured and lampooned, and finally was ordered by superior authority to keep quiet.

He refused obedience and was punished. But when Andrew Jackson became President, he had learned of the fight in which Levy had taken part when he himself had been denounced in London, and he became a strong partisan of Levy. He took up the cause for which Levy had been degraded and, as a result of his intervention, flogging was banished from the navy. It must be set down to the credit of the Jew and his readiness to fight, that the agitation against flogging secured headway and that it finally prevailed.

Another Jewish name stands out in the war of 1812, although it gained national recognition some time afterwards and in connection with another event. The building of Bunker Hill Monument was a very ambitious undertaking in the times when it was reared, and the work lagged greatly. Nothing akin of such magnitude had ever before been attempted in the country. In our day, when government is exalted into a great paternal institution, the thing would be handled in more simple fashion. The public treasury is expected to do everything. The people now are accustomed to go to Congress and get an appropriation when they desire to gratify their patriotism by erecting a monument, but in 1820 public opinion was not so far advanced upon such lines.

The people believed that they should commemorate the first great battle of the Revolution by a popular subscription in which each one directly gave his part; and so they embarked upon raising what was then a very large sum of money. After twenty years of struggle the monument was still uncompleted and twenty thousand dollars more were needed. At last Amos Lawrence, a leading merchant of Boston, offered to give ten thousand dollars if another would give an equal amount. This princely offer was received in cold silence in the financial sections of the neighborhoods such as Boston and New

York, from which a favorable response might have been expected.

But—unproclaimed—there came a remittance of ten thousand dollars from a remote part of the country, from Judah Touro, a Jew, of New Orleans, and the completion of the monument was assured. The event was commemorated by a dinner in Faneuil Hall. Amid the eloquent speeches that were made, a toast was proposed in lines which recognized the generosity of the two patriots, but hardly recalls the literary glories of Boston's golden age:

*Amos and Judah, venerated names,
Patriarch and Prophet press their equal claims;
Like generous coursers running neck and neck,
Each aids the cause by giving it a check;
Christian and Jew, they carry out one plan—
For though of different faith, each is in heart a man.*

Touro was born in New England. He migrated to Louisiana where as a merchant, an importer and exporter, he made a great fortune. When the war of 1812 moved from the sea and from the North to the Southern field, he was in the thick of General Jackson's fighting. In the battle of New Orleans he was almost mortally wounded. Though Touro was wealthy and lived in a slave state, he owned but a single slave, whom he educated and made free after giving him a home. He afterwards lived with a friend who owned slaves, and he made provision for the freedom of all of them. His philanthropies were country-wide.

The Touro name from the earliest colony days was identified with the Roger Williams Newport foundation. Touro Street, site of the first Synagogue, preserves the name in honor of Isaac Touro, its first Minister. Incidentally, even in that primitive time there was lavish ex-

penditure upon this house of worship, described by a contemporary Gentile writer as an "Edifice the most perfect of the Temple kind perhaps in America." Its cemetery, endowed by a Judah Touro legacy, has been made famous by Longfellow's idealization. Washington, visiting Newport in 1790, was addressed by its congregation in a pathetic letter of welcome. "Deprived," the letter declared, "as we have heretofore been of invaluable rights of free citizens, we now with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of all events behold a government created by the majesty of the people, a government which gives no sanction to bigotry and no assistance to persecution, but generously affords to all liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship."

Washington's reply is memorable. It set forth America's formal answer upon a problem which had vexed the nations of the world for centuries. It stated with an authority unsurpassed among men the position of liberality to which we had then attained.

"The citizens of the United States of America," said Washington, "have the right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike, liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is no more that toleration is spoken of as if it were by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherited natural rights; for, happily, the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support. It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my character not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my ad-

ministration and fervent wishes for my felicity. May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid."

IX: Attested Quality of Patriotism

THE most definite and perhaps the most ancient charge against the Jew is that he lacks in capacity for patriotism towards anything except his own race.

“He will serve France against the Germans, or the Germans against France, and he will do so indifferently as a resident in the country he benefits or the country he wounds; for he is indifferent to either. . . . But it is clear that in all this there are examples of what *in us* would be treason. In him such actions are not treasons for he does not betray Israel. But they all have an atmosphere repellent to us. They are things which if we did them (or when we do them) degrade us. They do not degrade the Jew.”

The foregoing appears in a book that recently appeared from a well known writer—“The Jew,” by Hilaire Belloc—and serves to show that the ancient charge still persists and in a somewhat extreme form. If true, it lies against the fitness of the Jew for citizenship in a democratic republic like our own. With us the paramount duty of the citizen in peace or war is to the State and not to the particular race or class to which he belongs.

Standing upon an equal platform with all, his duty is towards all. If one man or class may be absolved from a primary duty to the whole, so must another be. Upon a basis of inequality of obligation, a state like ours cannot stand. You cannot have a commonwealth without a common duty on the part of all its citizens. Undoubtedly we have had Jews who have subordinated the interest of our country to the interest of their race just as we have had citizens sprung from other races who have cast their ballots here with primary reference to the interest of countries beyond the sea, but the thing has been done, in either case, in violation of the fundamental obligation of American citizenship. If it be admitted that the Jews

may put Israel above the nation and assume an attitude towards the latter which in an ordinary man would be treason, then they cannot be treated as citizens, but must be segregated and dealt with as a separate and alien class.

As applied to America Mr. Belloc's statement would amount to a very unreal assumption and as to Europe its correctness may be questioned. The remedy proposed by him is wholly theoretical and impracticable in a modern State, or indeed even in the State which Mr. Belloc foresees—the “ing,” after the corrupt parliamentary system which he deplores shall have been swept away. He says:

“I may be told that to put an end to this state of affairs is impossible so long as parliamentary government, with its profound corruption endures. . . . To which I answer that the parliamentary system will not last forever. It is already in active dissolution among ourselves and badly hit elsewhere. The King may not be so far off as people think him to be.”

In the Belloc view has the government of the absolute Kings been free from corruption? Was everything pure under the Czars? Are the friends of untainted governments to look back for their models to the rule of prostitutes and parasites under the arbitrary French kings?

So far as the governmental factor is concerned we must be permitted to consider proposed solutions of the Jewish question as subject to the conditions imposed by the modern State, and who imagines that a modern State would consent to an arrangement under which the members of a race should have the privileges of trade, of ownership of property, the protection of the laws and the other rights of citizenship, and be free from its obligations and especially that highest obligation of fealty to the State? If the thing were attempted, it would give rise to the most odious persecution. The solution may

be dismissed as wholly chimerical. There is no possible likelihood that the law will consent to the establishment of a privileged race on the one hand or a class of helots on the other.

As to the idyllic autocrat without a parliament, whose coming is suggested, the submergence of the rights of the masses which would follow the appearance of that potentate would render of little relative importance the question whether the new order would be able to deal effectively with the Jews.

Race psychology has been very much overdone, especially in the case of the Jews. They will be found to act very much as other men act under the pressure of the same circumstances. The only safe test for a generalization is to consider individual instances, and if that is done, very many of the wise conclusions drawn against the Jews will be found of little value.

The ancient charge of incapacity for patriotism, in the common sense of the term, requires the consideration of a great deal of material that is pertinent to it; and what I shall consider will relate chiefly to the American Jew's capacity for patriotism as shown by his record. Much that will enable one to form an opinion upon this point I have already produced; but there is much more at hand. Obviously, patriotism may be shown in peace as well as in war, but the record of service of the American Jew will stand the test of either peace or war.

“From the day of the founding of the Republic,” said Theodore Roosevelt, *“we have had no struggle, military or civil, in which there have not been citizens of Jewish faith who played an eminent part for the honor and credit of the Nation.”*

General Winfield Scott, reviewing his Mexican campaign, declared: “From Vera Cruz to the capital of Mexico there was one jealous rivalry in heroic daring and

brilliant achievement. All proved themselves the faithful sons of our beloved country, and no spectator could fail to dismiss any lingering prejudice he may have entertained as to the comparative merits of Americans by birth and Americans by adoption."

President Cleveland in a public address said: "When with true American enthusiasm and pride we recall the story of the war for our independence, and rejoice in the indomitable courage and fortitude of our Revolutionary heroes, we should not fail to remember how well the Jews of America performed their part in the struggle and how in every way they usefully and patriotically supported the interests of their newly found home. Nor can we overlook, if we are decently just, the valuable aid cheerfully contributed by our Jewish fellow-countryman in every national emergency that has since overtaken us."

John Hay, intimate with every phase of American history from Lincoln to Roosevelt, speaking as Secretary of State, said: "Nobody can ever make the American think ill of the Jews as a class or as a race. We know them too well."

Mark Twain had frequent merry inclinations toward the Jews. In an article entitled "Concerning the Jews," he said much of the prejudice would vanish if the Jew took part in the military affairs of the country. This was quoted extensively by those who were anti-Jewish; but it was of a sudden disposed of by Mark Twain himself. In as public a way as was open to him, in the preface to a new volume ("The Man Who Corrupted Hadleyburg"), he made this recantation:

"When I published my article," (in Harper's Monthly), the author writes, "I was ignorant—like the rest of the Christian world—of the fact that the Jew had a record as a soldier. I have since seen the official statistics, and I find that he furnished soldiers and high officers in the

Revolution, the War of 1812 and the Mexican War. In the Civil War he was represented in the armies and navies of both the North and the South by 10 per cent of his numerical strength—the same percentage that was furnished by the Christian population of the two sections.

“This large fact means more than it seems to mean; for it means that the Jew’s patriotism was not merely level with the Christians but overpassed it. When the Christian volunteer arrived in camp, he got a welcome and applause, but, as a rule, the Jew got a snub. His company was not desired and he was made to feel it. That he nevertheless conquered his wounded pride, and sacrificed both that and his blood for the flag, raises the average and quality of his patriotism above the Christian’s. His record for capacity, for fidelity and for gallant soldiership in the field is as good as anyone’s. This is true of the Jewish private soldiers and the Jewish generals alike.

“That slur upon the Jew cannot hold up its head in the presence of the figures of the War Department. It has done its work and done it long and faithfully and with high approval; it ought now to be pensioned off and retired from active service.”

During the Civil War in New York alone two thousand Jews entered the Union service. More than a thousand came from Illinois. The states that remained in the Union contributed six thousand men, which was at least as large as the percentage of the total Jewish population. One of them entering the Union Army as a private rose to the rank of brevet Major General. Another, beginning as a second lieutenant, attained the rank of Brigadier General and won high distinction in the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. Others also

attained high rank. When it is borne in mind that these men served in regiments and divisions not made up of Jews but chiefly of other races—and that they were exposed to racial prejudice,—it may be inferred that the merit of the achievements which led to their promotion was beyond any manner of question.

And so also was it at the South, for the Jewish citizen of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Texas, and the other States was as devoted to his "State's Rights" as any of his fellow-citizens there could be; and the records of Jewish contribution are notable in the Confederacy annals, exemplified by such examples as Simon Baruch, Surgeon General on the staff of General Lee, and Mayer Lehman, whose tested business wisdom made him Alabama's Commissary General. Mayer Lehman it was who set Southern spindles going when war's outbreak found his state's cotton crop without market or mills to consume it. Both of these eminent Confederates at the close of the war came North to new citizenship and broad national service. Of Dr. Baruch, in an address to the New York Academy of Medicine, no less eminent authority than Dr. J. A. Wyeth said: "The profession and humanity owe more to Dr. Baruch than to any other man for the development of the surgery of appendicitis. He put hydrotherapy upon a scientific basis."

In other words, the Jews of the North and South were fighting against each other and acting much like the men of other races in their respective sections.

In that tense time of Civil War, public opinion's sensitiveness was appealed to insistently by anti-Jewish partisans—a fact that has been set forth in some detail by Simon Wolf, former President of the outstanding fraternity of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, and—but recently dead in his eighty-sixth year—a superb citizen in public and private life from Lincoln's first

inauguration. Writing during the Civil War in a letter to the editor of the New York *Evening Post* he charged that "anti-Jewish propaganda was inspired in the public departments" at Washington. He naturally wrote with some sensitiveness that the members of his race should be singled out for attack at the same time that the race as a whole was rendering noble service.

"The war now raging has developed an insanity of abuse and an intensity of malice," declared Mr. Wolf, "that borders upon the darkest days of superstition and the Spanish Inquisition. Has the war been inaugurated or fostered by Jews exclusively? Is the late Democratic party composed entirely of Israelites? Are all the blockade-runners descendants of Abraham? Are there no native Americans engaged in rebellion? No Christians running the blockade?

"I know, and I can produce the proofs, that some of the grandest acts of heroism performed during this war were by Jews—that more than a thousand commissioned and non-commissioned officers and thousands of privates are serving in the Union Army, whose faith is in God and their country.

"There was Gen. Edward S. Solomon, who on the field of Gettysburg, when the guns of Lee thundered down on the plains, prior to the great charge of Pickett, had stood solitary and alone smoking his cigar, with a bravado that inspired the admiration of the whole army. There was Gen. Leopold Blumenberg, of Baltimore, who had lost one of his legs at the battle of Antietam, marching along with an élan worthy of a younger man. There was Capt. J. B. Greenhut, of the famous Eighty-second Illinois, whose brilliant record in the army is still the inspiration round the campfires of the Grand Army of the Republic. There was Leopold Karpeles, one of the medal-of-honor men, who snatched a rebel flag in the

midst of the carnage and bore it triumphantly to the Union side, and who in turn became the banner bearer of his own troop and stood valiantly in the midst of the most terrific fire, holding the flag of his adopted country aloft as a symbol and an inspiration.

“Who was it on the banks of Green River, in the spring of 1862, when a company of the Thirty-second Indiana Volunteers were attacked and surrounded by thousands of Texans, who stood single-handed against those fearful odds, scorning to surrender, killing and wounding eight of his assailants, and at last yielded his life a sacrifice to duty, and thus saved his scattered regiment? Lieutenant Sachs, a Jew! But was this act of bravery chronicled as the deed of a Jew? No; nor is that any more necessary than that the other should be done; only it marks the contrast.”

Mr. Wolf himself was an object of attack by those who were pushing the anti-Jewish propaganda during and just after the Civil War. He was appointed by President Grant to an important Federal office which he had determined not to accept when he learned that a protest had been filed with the Senate committee against his confirmation because he was a Jew. He thereupon changed his decision and entered into a contest against those who urged the race argument against him. The result was that his appointment was unanimously confirmed.

The Jews also played their part bravely in the Spanish War. There is a reference to them, full of color, in the account of his campaign by Colonel Roosevelt. “I remember,” he wrote, “once General Howard mentioning to me the fact that two of his brigade commanders upon whom he had special reliance were Jews. In Santiago, when I was myself in the army, one of the best colonels among the regular regiments, and who fought beside me,

was a Jew. One of the commanders of the ships which in the blockade of the Cuban coast did so well was a Jew. In my own regiment I promoted five men from the ranks for valor and good conduct in battle. It happened by pure accident (for I knew nothing of the faith of any one of them) that these included two Protestants, two Catholics and one Jew; and that was not without its value as an illustration of the ethnic and religious make-up of our nation and of the fact that if a man is a good American, that is all we ask—without thinking of his creed or his birthplace."

The World War began, or rather America's participation in it, with the American Jew's attitude clear cut. Before our flag was there, American Jews were there. And when ultimately our national stand was taken, Jewish volunteers came rushing forward. There was ample inspiration for the words of the Hebrew, Julius Kahn, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee on the part of the House of Representatives, a leader in framing the national conscription law.

"I desire to congratulate my co-religionists on the splendid showing they are making in the matter of serving our country in this war," he said. "Many of the boys who go to the front will be wounded. Many of them will be killed. But Jews at all periods of the world's history have been ready to make the supreme sacrifice whenever the land that gives them shelter demands it. And it is fitting that we, as American citizens, go forth gladly in defense of American rights and the maintenance of American honor and prestige. When I drew the first draft number through the bowl on July 20, 1917, there passed through my mind the thought that this land of the free which has given the people of

my creed absolute freedom of religious worship, which has placed opportunities untold within the reach of the humblest among us, was a country worth fighting for, and, if need be, dying for. I know that I voice the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Jews in the United States when I say that we will do our share towards keeping 'Old Glory' floating proudly in the skies, so that it may continue to shelter under its fold the down-trodden and the oppressed of every land."

Has the sentiment of Congressman Kahn been maintained? "We will do our share," he promised. The record crystallizes into a significant table, and it discloses that while, by proportion of population measurement, the Jew of America's "share" was about three per cent, he contributed to the forces of the country a third beyond his "share," or four per cent. Incidentally, as is well known, the selective service system operated more effectively in the North and East than in the South and in portions of the West, and in the urban than in the rural districts—that is, in the larger centers of population, which happen also to be the centers of Jewish population. Moreover the number of enlistment "exemptions" was greatest in agriculture, mining and the metal industries, where Jews are least extensively employed.

But the principal reason for the high percentage of Jews in the service seems to rest elsewhere, as is pointed out by Mr. Julian Leavitt, Director of the Board of Jewish War Records. It is to be found in the large number of Jewish volunteers. The record indicates that there were approximately 40,000 Jewish volunteers in the service.

Compressed into paragraphs, this broad canvass of the Jewish War Record Board shows some distinctive things in addition to those I have mentioned.

It shows that honors conferred upon Jewish soldiers

for valor in action included no less than 1,100 citations. Of these there were 723 conferred by the American command, 287 by the French, 33 by the British, and 46 by various other allied commands. Of the most valued Congressional Medal of Honor three were awarded to Jewish soldiers. The Distinguished Service Cross is worn by 150 American Jews, the rare French Medaille Militaire by four American Jews, and the Croix de Guerre by 174; and also it is shown that nearly 10,000 Jewish commissioned officers were in the several branches of the service. In the Army there were more than 100 colonels and lieutenant-colonels, more than 500 majors, 1,500 captains, and over 6,000 lieutenants. In the Navy there were over 900 Jewish commissioned officers, the highest rank reached being that of Rear-Admiral by Joseph Strauss. In the Marine Corps there were over 100 Jewish commissioned officers, including one Brigadier-General, Charles H. Lauchheimer.

The total of Jewish casualties was from 13,000 to 14,000—including about 2,800 who made the supreme sacrifice.

In view of this record of the Jews in the Army and Navy, it is clear that they did their full share for their country. They well won their place among their heroic comrades in arms.

X: World War Valor And Sacrifice

THERE were, as I have said, more than a thousand citations for valor displayed by Jews, among our American soldiers in the World War. All the principal Allied countries expressed appreciation of the service of the American Jews. There were doubtless many very brave men who earned decorations, but who never received them, for the reason that there were many things done as bravely by soldiers which escaped the eyes of those giving decorations, as were done by those accorded citations. Among the men who were decorated, the splendid deeds of the members of one race may be paralleled from among the members of other races. I should not exalt the Jew above his fellow countrymen in our armies in the great war. All that I am claiming for him is that his record in the war justly entitles him to stand in the great fraternity of American soldiers level with his comrades. So to stand is a shining honor.

When the charge is made that the Jew is not patriotic, and will not fight for his country, National official records may be invoked to silence the charge. The most effective, if not the only effective, way of disproving the airy assumption that the Jews are not brave or patriotic is to cite the records of individual Jews. They add warmth to statistics and make them more vital. The pages that contain the citations are of a piece with the whole record and they constitute conclusive evidence of the patriotism of the Jew. It certainly will not be beneath the dignity of history to record these deeds and to recite the names of the Jews who performed them, even if they are unfamiliar. No matter how obscure the names may appear to be, the deeds make them resplendent. Here I present some of these deeds with the names of the doers appearing upon the official registry.

Clarence Baer, of Detroit, was the first American to

receive the medal of the Reconnaissance Francaise; Joseph Berg and Abe Levinson, lookouts in Château Thierry wheat fields, regardless of heavy artillery fire, succeeded in putting three machine gun crews out of commission, and Merrill Rosenfeld at Verdun met death leading a group that silenced a similar machine gun nest; Morris Silverberg, George Westenberg and Bernard Neitelbarren went into the open fields under constant shell fire to rescue wounded comrades.

Sam Arnstein and Axel Bergman of the Engineers continued at their bridge building in the thick of concentrated attack; Lieutenant Peter Zion, bayoneted and with a slashed arm, scorned to have his wounds dressed until his platoon had gained its objective; Isaac Hirsch, Gilbert Max and Louis Gerstein of Roxbury, volunteer stretcher bearers, were decorated for bringing wounded fellows through shell fire to the ambulances; Julius Goldstein piloted a lost company back to the lines at Château Diable; Samuel Block, after others had been shot down, carried messages through artillery barrage; Jacob Kaplan, crawling out in advance of the first line close to an enemy machine gun nest, sent signals that directed the destruction of German guns; Nathan Lieberman rushed a machine gun nest, taking four prisoners; John Blohm from his shell hole—seeing a wounded comrade dragging himself through the grass, bleeding from wounds—quitted his protected place to rescue his unfortunate comrade, conveyed him to a partial shelter behind a tree to bind his wounds, thence slipped into the water to swim with his unconscious fellow across the river, and then in his arms carried his burden over two hundred yards of open field—and all this in broad daylight and in the face of continuous machine gun fire.

Jacques Swaab, Roy Manzer and Louis Bernheimer of the air service, attacked hostile planes, reconnoitered

behind enemy lines, and assumed every high altitude and plunging risk, variously winning decorations for their disregard of their own personal safety; Sergeant Sidney G. Gumpertz earned the Congressional Medal of Honor and decoration by France for destroying a machine gun nest and capturing sixteen Germans single handed; Julius Toelken surprised a gun crew and then turned the fire of their own guns upon the foe; William Shefrin, a cook, after both his own feet were torn away by a bursting shell, directed the work of rescuing wounded comrades till, his life blood ebbed away, he fell forward dead.

And, by way of illustration of what in typical detail such official pronouncements say, here is the entry against the name of Julius Ochs Adler, a winner of America's Distinguished Service Cross and France's Croix de Guerre with palm, and Italy's War Cross, a civilian till war broke:

"During the night the regiment in which Adler had risen to be a major," the citation proceeds, "suddenly came under heavy shell fire of the enemy and the companies were ordered to dig in. He showed coolness, special devotion, and care of his men, calmly walking up and down in front of his command, preventing panic, and indicating to individual men where best to seek shelter. During this critical time he gave little thought to personal danger, and his action undoubtedly greatly reduced the number of casualties. During the advance in the Argonne Forest, this officer showed marked leadership and efficiency, and exhibited great coolness, under fire, in leading his troops against the enemy, although time and time again superior forces of the enemy confronted him; and his company, although greatly depleted by casualties, inspired by his courage and example, was first to reach the objective at St. Juvin, capturing ap-

proximately fifty prisoners. He was ever ready to go forward, however great the odds seemed against him."

No exploit of the war was more thrilling than the adventure of the "Lost Battalion." Whittlesey, a Massachusetts Yankee major, and one of the noblest heroes of the war, was trapped deep within the jungles of the Argonne Forest. All trace of him and his devoted band was lost to his Seventy-seventh division—that division (composed largely of New York City's tenement district men) which General Bell at Camp Upton, wishing it God-speed into the war, had prophesied would make a name for itself in France.

Somebody had blundered; an enemy army hemmed the battalion within close firing lines. Hideous conditions had not one relieving feature. Food was gone; water could be obtained only by crawling at night to a valley brook commanded by the fire of the enemy; the wounded, hourly increasing, could have only scantiest attention. Only two of the medical detachment lived through the first two days of slaughter. Hunger, thirst and fever were all fighting on the enemy's side. It is not over-statement that one finds in the Seventy-seventh Regiment's official history which declares that the few survivors could look into one another's eyes and have only the thought that, "There is nothing before us but death."

"Surrender or die," was the message that German Headquarters, conveyed by a captured American prisoner, sent blindfolded across the lines. "You are surrounded on all sides. In the name of humanity yield. A white flag will tell us you surrender." That was the summons. The defiant response of Whittlesey left no room for doubt. There would be no surrender.

One representative of that battalion, one that General Pershing in a formal order presented, was a Jew stripling from a crowded tenement of New York. Less hopeful hero material is hardly imaginable; yet what that lad dared and did was enough to arouse the enthusiasm of all America when the censor let the record pass.

"Courage in emergencies is heroism, and for extraordinary heroism the Distinguished Service Cross is awarded by the United States Government," wrote a stirred chronicler in the New York Times, "and a humble recipient of it is Abraham Krotoshinsky, an infantry private of the Bronx. He volunteered for a service which seemed certain death, for other men had fallen wounded, or had been killed, or were accounted 'missing' in attempting the duty which the youngster from New York sprang to perform with no illusions about its perils.

"The place was the Argonne Forest, full of 'Bloody Angles.' Krotoshinsky belonged to the 'Lost Battalion.' Surrounded by the enemy and cut off from the rest of the American Army, it had decided to die rather than surrender. Runner after runner was sent out. They were all volunteers, to quote from the first despatch, 'to get through the enemy's lines and bring relief.' Every man was a target as soon as he went 'over the top.' It was the valor of cold blood that made him run the risk. No man had gone through, for there was no cheer of relieving troops, no signal of aid coming. When the call for a volunteer was made again, Krotoshinsky spoke first, stepped up to the ordeal, went over in full view of the enemy, and was off to save the 'Lost Battalion.'

"One cannot imagine the Germans cheering the private from the Bronx as he faced their fire, now stumbling, now up again, always going forward undaunted

to save the battalion, but if ever a fighting man deserved to be cheered by a generous enemy it was this courier who was 'captain of his soul' and dared all for love of his comrades and The Flag!"

Colonel Roosevelt extolled two of his Rough Riders, one of whom survived, for making a run through the fire of the Spaniards in Cuba, but what a sprinkling of bullets it was compared with the inferno of crater making shells and machine gun volleys in the great war!

"About the stock and names of the heroes to be you can never tell," the chronicle continues, "especially when fifty nationalities leap from the melting pot at the American call to arms.

"If the great war has proved anything, it is that men of all races and from all climes are brave to a fault, and that heroes may wear unfamiliar names—the name of Abraham Krotoshinsky, for instance."

Unwillingly, the Jewish boy himself told his own story modestly to his regiment's historian. "The morning of the fifth day of our trouble," he said, answering inquiries, "they called for volunteers for courier. I volunteered and was accepted. I went because,—just because I thought I ought to.

"I was lucky enough not to be wounded. And after five days of starving, I was stronger than many of my friends who were twice my size. You know a Jew finds strength to suffer.

"I got my orders and started. It was five o'clock in the morning on October seventh. I had to run about thirty feet in plain view of the Germans before I got into the forest. They saw me when I got up and fired everything they had at me. I could feel the bullets whistle all around me but I didn't get hit once. I guess it wasn't 'beshert' that I should get killed by the Germans. Then I had to crawl right through their lines.

They knew that I was there and they were looking for me everywhere. I just moved along on my stomach, in the direction I was told, straining my eyes open for them. The brush was six feet high and often that saved me. Once a squad of Germans passed right by my hiding place jabbing their bayonets into the thicket and swearing. One big fellow nearly stepped on my hand. He looked right into my eye. I thought it was my finish that time but he never saw me. It was almost six o'clock that night when I saw the American lines.

"All that day I had been crawling or running doubled up after five days and nights without food and practically nothing to drink. Then my real trouble began. I was coming from the direction of the German lines and my English is none too good. I was afraid our own troops would shoot me for a German before I could explain who I was. I thought and thought and finally I decided that if I called 'Hello!' they would know I am an American soldier, as 'Jerry' never has used that expression when he tried to talk English. I called 'Hello!' until the tears came to my eyes, I was so weak, before a voice called out, 'Who are you and what do you want?' Pretty soon I was on my way to Headquarters, and they asked me whether I could lead them back to the battalion, and we started.

"I will never forget the scene when the relief came. The men were like crazy with joy.

"But not many were left. Of six hundred and seventy-nine who had entered the pocket only two hundred and fifty-two were alive and of those only one hundred and fifty were able to walk without help."

To the story of the hero the military historian adds the postscript: "Abraham Krotoshinsky is a small, shy emaciated youth, with large limpid blue eyes set far apart in a face which suffering and privation have

pinched very close to the contour of his skull. He has been for six years in the United States which include the service of Uncle Sam. Although he wears on the lapel of his coat the red and blue bar of the Distinguished Service Cross, he is not yet a citizen. 'Everybody is good to me,' he keeps saying. 'When General Pershing himself gave me my Cross he told me I should try to be a good citizen—that that was as much as to be a good soldier. And now'—(this his insistent interruption as others would have him more elaborate the story of daring and glory) —'now, won't you please tell me how I can, quick, get my citizen papers!'"

Major General Alexander, declaring how great he esteemed the honor of being commander of the Seventy-seventh division, has written: "It contained in its ranks representatives of all who have here sought freedom and citizenship under the flag. Fully represented was the Jewish race. My heart swells with pride that I was their commander."

XI: Service Mindless of Sectarianism

THE Jews did not win glory in the World War only upon the fighting line. What their organizations did in army and navy welfare work entitled them to rank with the best of the other noble organizations working in the same field.

At the beginning of the war, the general desire to minister to the soldiers led to the formation of a large number of agencies, all earnest in their purpose, but proceeding upon their own lines. It soon became apparent that cooperation was necessary and that much more good could be accomplished by working under some central authority. The Jewish Welfare Board was organized at the outbreak of the war, with a New England man of affairs, Colonel Cutler, as its head, and it soon became a most efficient order. Sufficient funds were raised without difficulty. Its service was like that of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Red Cross and similar organizations. Its work began the very week when the existence of a state of war was declared. Many who were leaders in business threw their energies behind the organization. Great sums of money were contributed. Mortimer L. Schiff was the Finance Chairman, and the supply of funds was so liberal that the most ample provision was made for all Jews who were in the service.

But it soon became evident that the great instruments of helpfulness should be operated in concert with each other, and in response to an appeal of President Wilson complete cooperation was secured, and the work thereafter showed a symmetry and effectiveness, which made it unmatched in warfare.

"It was evident from the first," the President declared, "and has become increasingly evident that the service rendered by these agencies to our army and our Allies,

are essentially one and all of a kind, and must of necessity, if well rendered, be rendered in the closest cooperation. Through their agencies the moral and spiritual resources of the nation have been mobilized behind our forces and used in the finest way, and they are contributing directly and effectively to the winning of the war."

The Jewish Welfare Board was most willing to adopt the suggestion of the President and blend its activities with those of other organizations. Indeed, it had previously acted upon the principle of cooperation and put on record its appreciation of the help it had received from the other workers. "Not only have we coordinated Jewish activities," it declared, "but we have cooperated extensively with the non-Jewish agencies, with the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, American Red Cross, American Library Association, and the War Camp Community Service. We have exchanged kindnesses liberally. We have received much and we have in turn striven to give in accordance with our capacity and substance, without foregoing a jot of our individual character, indeed rather conserving and developing it. We have drawn closer and closer to one another in the bonds of mutual sympathy and self-respect."

This spirit was manifest from the war's very outbreak —Jews prominent among contributors to the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Salvation Army and Red Cross, in addition to subscriptions to National bond issues, not only individually but through their synagogues and other organizations.

The chairman of the Training Camp activities, Raymond D. Fosdick, wrote of the work of the Jews and of the other organizations: "In 1916," he said, "I made an inspection report upon conditions among our troops

on the Mexican border, and it seems incredible that within two years thereafter so great a change to the good could have taken place. In 1917 it was resolved that bad conditions were not again to be permitted. Hence the creation of the Commission of Training Camp Activities, the Government undertaking to initiate wholesome agencies; and so came about the Jewish Welfare, the Young Men's Christian Association, The National Catholic War Council, camp and cantonment operations. Three great branches they have been in humanity work.

"The sectarian lines have vanished, and this work that has been carried on has not been carried on as Jewish work, or Protestant work, or Catholic work; it has been fundamentally an American work, carried on for all the troops in the camps without regard to faith."

And, in addition to this, the Rev. John J. Burke, who in the interdenominational army welfare work was the representative of the Catholic War Council, in a public statement said: "In the work of this war, in touch with the larger welfare work and religious work, in touch with all the religious denominations of the country, in touch with the Government, there is no organization that has shown itself more American, more fair, better organized, with its own powers and its own strength, to help the cause of our Government, to help the victory of America and to put the accent on the word Democracy, than the Jewish Welfare Board. I speak as one who has been intimately connected with the welfare work and religious work through all the time of this war. We have proved to the world that we can and do govern ourselves, that we live together with mutual sympathy and understanding and justice and that our American flag is the safeguard of all three—of Protestant and Catholic and Jew."

"I tender to the Jewish Welfare Board my thanks in the name of the Allied Armies," Marshal Foch wrote; and this was written by General Pershing: "The American Expeditionary Forces thank the Jewish Welfare Board."

Jacob H. Schiff, who from the start was the animating genius of this great goodwill adventure, had his life's end cheered by testimony like this. At one of his last public appearances Mr. Schiff said: "The fact that the Welfare Board understood what to do, in camp and cantonment, for the Jewish soldier was no doubt a good deal responsible for the enthusiasm of our young men when they arrived at the battle front. They were proud of being Jews, they were proud of being able to say, 'Provision has been made for us by our own people as provision has been made by other denominations for their own men.'"

Major General J. Franklin Bell at the dedication of the Jewish Ark at Camp Upton said:

"We are not all of the same faith, but we are co-workers and brothers in the same sacred cause. We find no difficulty in according mutual respect to the religious observances of each other, regardless of how they may differ in themselves. We are making history today, when Jew and Gentile meet in mutual respect to assist in a religious ceremony which is of great importance to worshippers of the Hebrew faith. It is not necessary that we should entertain the same view in essentials of religious faith in order to justify our participation in this ceremony. It is only necessary that we should have an earnest desire to be liberal-minded and to show kindly consideration for the convictions of others, regardless of their difference from our own, to drop any feeling of

prejudice and be animated by but one desire: to promote the sacred interests of our beloved country."

"The United War Work campaign—Catholic, Protestant, Jew, in heart and hand alliance for the good that they could do,—was a great gratification," officially records Mortimer Schiff. It was a monument, indeed, to his father's memory.

"It provided generously for soldiers and sailors of all faiths," said Woodrow Wilson. "Its facilities," said Raymond Fosdick, "were employed by Gentile and Jew alike." And James K. Kelly, Knights of Columbus Secretary, adds: "I have been intimate with Catholic War Work and Jewish War Work alike—and the Jews certainly are broad minded, they were good to everybody."

"The first fruits of the great struggle for world freedom," Louis Marshall has denominated the United War Work campaign.

XII: Pride in Civic Responsibilities

IT IS charged that the Jews have so great a number of organizations within the lines of their race, that their attention is diverted from those broad things that concern the whole country to the things that concern only their race. But there is ample reason for these organizations, as will readily appear from the work they have to do.

In the first place, there are the natural orders that spring up among different races; then the Jews have a religious creed of their own and so, coinciding with the lines of race, would be the organizations—devotional, fraternal, charitable—growing out of their church.

When they first came to this country they established charities and sheltering guardian associations to do that very thing. In New York, for example, they were commanded to take care of their own poor. And then in some countries in Europe the members of the race were subjected to cruel persecutions, and the energies of the Jews in this country needed to be directed to giving relief to their fellow Jews abroad, which they would otherwise not have received—and the record of that direction is not less than inspirational.

It will be well to consider more in detail the work of some of the more important of these organizations. About the middle of the last century there was formed in New York a Jewish fraternity, *Bundes Söhne*, or Sons of the Covenant, the equivalent of which is found in the Hebrew title of *B'nai B'rith*, and it may be treated as a broadly representative Jewish organization. Its work has been to support charities, to promote education and, wherever in the world Jews were oppressed because they were Jews, to extend to them a helping hand. It was the dream of a mechanic at the outset, and its operations now extend over the whole world.

During the Civil War it was charged that the order, having a considerable membership in the Confederacy, made its own special purposes paramount to the good of the Union, and the head of the National Secret Service pronounced it "a disloyal organization, supporting traitors." The Order demanded an investigation. And it was found that there was no merit in the accusation, but that the fraternity was concerned in work which both President Lincoln and Secretary of War Stanton approved. The membership of the order multiplied. Its president visited Europe and extended the program of helpfulness to the race all over the world. Its work became most aggressive under Leo N. Levi, who was a distinguished lawyer of the South, and a graduate of the University of Virginia. The charitable side of the work and its help to the unfortunate was expanded, but that was not the great work done by the Society under Mr. Levi. Through him it rendered a memorable service to the cause of religious liberty throughout the world.

He was a young man, full of energy and ambition, and when there came the news of the terrible slaughter at Kishineff, he subordinated all other considerations in his strivings against a system under which such an atrocity was possible. He prepared a petition addressed to the Czar himself, secured a great number of signatures to it, and he asked President Roosevelt to convey this message directly to our diplomatic representative at St. Petersburg, for presentation to the Czar. It was a dignified message and there never was a nobler appeal made in behalf of religious freedom. These quotations will show its quality:

"The cruel outrages perpetrated at Kishineff during Easter of 1903 have excited horror and reprobation throughout the world. Until your Majesty gave special and personal directions, the local authorities failed to

maintain order or suppress the rioting. The victims were Jews, and the assault was the result of race and religious prejudice.

“The westward migration of Russian Jews which has proceeded for over twenty years, is being stimulated by these fears, and already that movement has become so great as to overshadow in magnitude the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and to rank with the exodus of Egypt.

“Religious persecution is more sinful and more fatuous than war. War is sometimes necessary, honorable and just; religious persecution is never defensible.

“The sinfulness and folly which give impulse to unnecessary war received their greatest check when your Majesty’s initiative resulted in an international court of peace.

“With such an example before it, the civilized world cherishes the hope that upon the same initiative there shall be fixed in the early days of the twentieth century the enduring principles of religious liberty; that by a gracious and convincing expression your Majesty will proclaim, not only for the government of your own subjects, but also for the guidance of all civilized men, that none shall suffer in person, property, liberty, honor or life because of his religious belief; that the humblest subject or citizen may worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that government, whatever its former agencies, must safeguard these rights and immunities by the exercise of all its powers.

“Far removed from your Majesty’s dominions, living under different conditions and owing allegiance to another Government, your petitioners yet venture, in the name of civilization, to plead for religious liberty and tolerance; to plead that he who led his own people and all others to the shrine of peace will add new lustre to his reign and fame by leading a new movement that shall

commit the whole world in opposition to religious persecution."

On July 14th, 1903, this impressive document was, by the order of President Roosevelt, cabled to the American Charge d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, with a letter of introduction signed by Secretary Hay. It made no impression in the cold atmosphere of St. Petersburg. The Czar's government refused to consider or even receive it.

The original petition with its thousands of signatures was bound in a suitable volume, and transmitted to Secretary Hay, who in official acknowledgment wrote:

"It gives me pleasure to accept the charge of this important and significant document, and assign it a place in the archives of the Department of State.

"Although this copy of your petition did not reach the high destination for which it was intended, its words have attained a world-wide publicity, and have found a lodgment in many thousands of minds. This petition will be always memorable, not only for what it contains, but also for the number and weight of the signatures attached to it, embracing some of the most eminent names of our generation, of men renowned for intelligence, philanthropy and public spirit. In future, when the students of history come to peruse this document, they will wonder how the petitioners, moved to profound indignation by intolerable wrongs perpetrated on the innocent and helpless, should have expressed themselves in language so earnest and eloquent and yet so dignified, so moderate and decorous. It is a valuable addition to public literature, and it will be sacredly cherished among the treasures of this Department."

This appeal undoubtedly affected the public opinion of the world, and constitutes a landmark in the long history of Jewish persecution. It was characteristic of the leadership of Leo Levi who administered his order

broadly and did nothing more narrow than to assert the right of the members of his race to liberty. His appeals were liberal enough to include at the same time the same rights for all men.

The spirit of Levi still animates his order. Adolf Kraus, Chicago jurist, a successor president of the fraternity has presented with great force the attitude of his order.

“American citizenship,” he said, “is too precious a boon to be forced or thrust upon anyone. It is an honor that ought to be conferred upon him only who understands what it means, appreciates its worth, earnestly desires it, and has proven himself worthy to receive it. That which is easily attained is little appreciated. No alien should be admitted to American citizenship who has not during his probationary period brought himself to an understanding of the benefits and obligations of such citizenship, and by his life and conduct shown his appreciation of it, his desire for it, and his fitness to achieve it. For the welfare of America, for the welfare of Judaism, we as Jews should see to it that no Jew is admitted to American citizenship who is not worthy of that honor, and that everyone who comes to this country and proves himself unworthy to remain in it, is ferreted out and sent back to the country from whence he came. Let any alien Jew who seeks to remain in America understand that hatred for American institutions and affiliation with those elements which seek their destruction, are inconsistent with further residence in America, not only in the opinion of the United States Government, but also in the opinion of the great body of Jews who are proud of their American citizenship and who will tolerate no assault upon it by anyone whose act might call into question their appreciation of it.”

This lofty ideal of citizenship cannot be impressed too

often upon all immigrants into our country of whatever creed, and it is a most hopeful sign that this widespread Jewish organization should be engaged in the work of putting this ideal in practice. Even if no reference is made to the valuable work of the order in other fields, what it has done in behalf of religious liberty and to maintain a high standard of our citizenship amply justifies its existence.

The difficulties which have been imposed upon the Jews by reason of the sudden increase in immigration caused by the persecutions in southeastern Europe cannot be exaggerated. Our Jewish population more than doubled in twenty years and there was a very heavy burden per capita imposed upon the Jews of this country when this sudden immigration set in. The Jewish immigrants did not come for the reason animating the recent immigration of the other races. Men would come from Italy or Germany or England to better their conditions individually; but the Jews came fleeing from persecution. They especially needed help and, unless they were to become public paupers, that help would need to come from the members of their own race.

Thus, as a result of the persecutions in Eastern Europe, great numbers of destitute Jews came scurrying to this country and many of them were likely to become public charges and undoubtedly would have become such had they not received immediate help from their own people. Our Jewish population then was relatively small compared with the inundation of the race which came from abroad and a great burden was put upon them adequately to care for the incomers. But they responded most effectively to the demand. There has been no better work done in caring for incoming immigrants and in training

them for American citizenship than has been done by the American Jews, and it is unquestionable that the influence of leading Jews like Dr. Cyrus Adler, Adolph Lewisohn, Louis Marshall, Jacob H. Schiff, the Strauses, the Seligmans, the Lehmans, the venerated Pereira and F. de Sola Mendes, Julius Rosenwald, Mayer S. Isaacs, Edward Lauterbach, Nathan Bijur, Julian W. Mack and Mayer Sulzberger, has been efficiently exerted.

When these fugitives from Russian and Roumanian oppression reached our shores, they were pitiable objects, destitute in almost every particular, yet already large numbers of them have achieved success in our country.

The Jews have also established a Jewish Publication Society which has greatly developed scholarship among the members of the race. Among the things it has accomplished is the translation of the Jewish Scriptures which is pronounced by scholars, a literary masterpiece. Histories, essays and almost every other form of literature from Jewish scholars have also been given to the public. The Jewish Publication Society takes its place with the American Bible Society, the Methodist Book Concern and other similar organizations. Closely related to the Publication Society is the work of the American Jewish Historical Society, an institution alive with the devotion of patriotic scholarship. For more than two score years Dr. Cyrus Adler, who with Judge Mayer Sulzberger was foremost in its foundation, served in its presidency—succeeded by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, whose prominence and authority in the world of rare books, is international.

XIII: Intolerance's Orgies of Falsehood

THE brief review of the record of the Jew in America and especially in its wars leaves nothing whatever of the accusation that he is unpatriotic. The charge never had any basis in reason. There is no more ground for the belief that the Jew cannot today be true to any country of which he is permitted genuinely to become a part, with the same rights as those of the other inhabitants, than there is to believe that the Saxons or the Normans cannot be true to England, or that there can be no patriotism in America because the descendants of the different races will hold their first allegiance to the lands from which they sprang.

It is claimed that the Jews are different from other sections of our population because they have no race home and that, if Palestine should be reclaimed for them, some features of the so-called "Jewish problem" would disappear. On the question of reclamation there appears to be much difference of opinion among the Jews themselves; but whatever might be its advantages, it is difficult to believe that the solution of the world-wide Jewish problem would be one of them. That problem must be settled by the different nations among which the great mass of the Jews will continue to live and must be settled by them on the lines of justice, of which America has furnished an example. It must be the care of America not to break with her noble past.

There are among the members of other race stocks in our country some who are charged with putting the interests of their motherlands above that of their adopted country. But in the nature of things the Jew can have no hyphenated citizenship because he has no motherland except that in which he lives, and the Canaan which might be reclaimed is still in the future and would form

too narrow a basis for a state which should comprehend all the members of the Jewish race.

If it were true that for many centuries and until recent times the Jews displayed little attachment to some of the countries in which they lived, why, it may pertinently be asked, should they have been consumed with love for lands in which they were in constant danger of being plundered, in which they were segregated and hunted like wild beasts, in which they were branded and liable to be beaten and torn limb from limb, or burned at the stake?

A country which accepts support from a race must in honor accord it protection. A society which steadily frowns upon a race can hardly expect its love in return. That country will command the homage of any normal human being which receives him as one of its own, which confers benefits upon him and treats him as if he were a man. And because he is a man he is likely to have little love for a land which accords him worse treatment than a beast of burden should receive.

It is charged that the Jew is a revolutionist. Men take part in revolutions against governments because of oppression. The Jews in that respect do not differ from other men unless on the side of conservatism. That is shown by the French Revolution, as it is shown by the revolution in Russia. The Jews were not the leaders in the French Revolution, although they took part in it, as did other men, but many of them were its victims.

In Russia they suffered under the same absolutism which crushed the masses of the people, and in addition they suffered under a peculiar oppression directed towards them as the members of a race. Why should they not have joined in the revolt? The collapse of Russian

absolutism in the throes of the World's War was practically inevitable. The assertion of the rights of the people at large in the uprising led by Kerensky was probably supported by the mass of the Russian people, including the Russian Jews, but it is a glaring error to deduce from this revolutionary identification the sympathy of the Jews with Bolshevism. On this point Kerensky himself, foremost foe and victim of Bolshevism, and (who is not a Jew), has spoken explicitly. In a statement contributed to the Jewish Chronicle of London, in November, 1918, he said:

"When in the first days of the Revolution I was Minister of Justice, I decreed the full emancipation of the Jews, thus granting to them the same rights as to all other citizens. Ninety-nine per cent of the Russian Jews are against the Bolsheviks, and during the whole of the Revolution, the Jewish intellectuals and the Jewish mass, were, of all non-Russian races, the most faithful supporters of the Revolution with which they were closely linked as well as with the general interests of the country. And although numerous Jews are to be found among the Bolshevik leaders they are renegades most of whom had emigrated and lost every contact with Russia and were no longer representative of Russian Jewry.

"During the Revolution the Jews everywhere worked together with the parties who had coalesced to organize and support the Provisional Government. The Jewish bankers, firms, workers' unions—they were all for national defense and for cooperation with the moderate 'bourgeois' elements in the upbuilding of the new State."

It is significant of the position of the mass of the Jews, as Kerensky remarks, that Anti-Semitism was fomented with the rise of Bolshevism to power and he aptly characterizes this movement as a criminal act of the Bolsheviks. How the Jewish communities in Russia have fared

under the Bolshevik regime is succinctly told by Dr. D. Pazmanik, a delegate from the Crimea to the Peace Conference. "I estimate," said Dr. Pazmanik, "that there are about 2,000,000 Jews in Bolshevik Russia, and as they belong in the main to the so-called Bourgeois classes, they have been completely impoverished and economically annihilated. Many communities as such, have been destroyed. Hebrew schools and the Hebrew press are prohibited and Zionism is forbidden. The Bolsheviks refused to allow money to be subscribed for the maintenance of the synagogues, with the result that the Rabbis and synagogue officials are without salaries."

If the Jews bore a significant or an important part in Bolshevism, evidence of it would be found in the personnel of the leaders of the Soviet Government. The "council of the people's commissars" is made up of the heads of the great departments of the Government including the President, Lenin, and numbers 17 members. Of these 17 members only one, Trotzky, is a Jew. Numerous lists of subordinate officials containing Jewish names have been produced. Mr. John Spargo in his comprehending volume, "The Jew An Idealist," effectually punctures these lists by showing they are little better than pure fabrications.

It is further pointed out by Israel Zangwill that the question of Jewish participation in the brutal execution of the Czar and his family is definitely determined. "Even the Minister of Justice under Koltchak's Government has certified that among the number of persons proved by the date of the preliminary inquiry to have been guilty of the assassination of the late Emperor Nicholas II and his family, there was not any person of Jewish descent." The Russian Jew showed himself in favor of a just government, and equally against disorder.

The approved formula of American anti-Semitism is simple. Accuse the Jews of everything wrong in the body politic from crooked business to crooked baseball and Tammany's long line of Jewish leaders—Tweeds and Crokers and Murphys, and let the accusations flower out in the two stupendous lies: "The Jews are the architects of Bolshevism in Russia," and "The Jews brought on the World War." The case against the Jews is just recklessly silly, or exaggerated premises. They are accused of financial or industrial monopoly where precisely the same charge may be levelled with equal if not greater proof, against men of other races.

If the name of a Jew is uncovered in any widespread swindle, at once the name of the other guilty persons, who are of other races, are ignored and he is made the scapegoat to bear the burdens of the crimes of all. Mr. Belloc assigns the Panama Canal scandal as a reason for antagonism to the Jew, but what shall be said of the French for some very good Gallic names in that swindle loomed large across the Atlantic? The Dreyfus case Mr. Belloc assigns as another basis for agitation against him. But the Dreyfus case was as infamous a conspiracy to destroy an innocent man on account of his race as was ever known. It was so outrageous as to cause the very stones to cry out for justice.

Those who in that time at the risk of their freedom and their lives championed Dreyfus rendered an inestimable service to France by erasing in part at least a foul blot upon her fair name. It should destroy anti-Jewish prejudice instead of fomenting it.

If we may judge from the one country in the world—our own country—which has treated the Jew as a man and a self-governing citizen, he has shown that he is capable of exalted patriotism, and that he reverences his citizenship in such a country.

XIV: *Rise to Potency in World Finance*

THE Jews have always been conspicuous for administrative talent and those qualities that fit men for what is comprehended under the term business. In ancient times, indeed until times that may fairly be called modern, most kinds of business were held in disrepute. The lending of money was an unpopular occupation in the time of Rome. The wages of working men were, according to Cicero, the mere badges of their servitude. Retailers of goods were held in disrepute because, according to the same authority, if they were to succeed it was necessary that they should lie. Wholesale commerce even was to an extent disreputable although it was better than retail trade. To raise and sell food seemed the only business becoming in a gentleman.

We might fairly infer that Roman ideals would not sanction gaining money on a large scale unless by plundering provinces or stealing the public lands by laws passed through the Senate for the benefit of its members.

But in the Dark and Middle Ages, when the Jew was under the ban, he was prohibited from even entering upon many of those common and necessary pursuits which were held in scorn by parasitic aristocracies and only the most odious callings were open to him. The most odious pursuit of all was almost forced upon him—the lending of money upon interest, which was not only in bad repute but was prohibited by the church as contrary to the precepts of Christianity.

It was heresy for a Christian to take interest. The world, however, was not wholly stagnant even in the dark times, and to the extent to which there was commerce, it was a borrowing and a lending world. The Jew was forced to meet the want in society and to become the money lender. The risks of the business, its disrepute and the scarcity of coin, conspired to make even justifi-

able rates of interest high. But laws against usury were lax and were loosely enforced. In Aragon the lender was permitted to charge a rate of twenty per cent and in Castile as much as thirty-three and one-third; and even these limiting laws were not respected and money lending justly became the most hateful of all callings, and Jews who engaged in it augmented the hostility to their race.

It is urged against the Jew that his religion authorized a discrimination against the non-Jew; and a passage from Deuteronomy is often cited, "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury." Dr. Adler, a distinguished Chief Rabbi of London, pointed out that the correct translation of the Hebrew would be "interest" and not "usury," and that while a Jew might lend upon interest to a stranger he was prohibited from taking interest from another Jew; and that the purpose of this law was to prevent the centralization of the ownership of land in Palestine in a few hands, as afterwards happened in Italy. In Palestine every fiftieth year was called The Year of Jubilee, because all burdens upon land were cancelled every fifty years (Lev. XXV) and land which was encumbered or had been lost to the original owner reverted to him or his heirs. It was the purpose of this statesmanlike policy of Moses to prevent a few men from owning the whole of Palestine. But it was different with regard to foreign commerce of which the trade routes of three continents passed through the country. If an Israelite possessed capital which he could not utilize in his own country, he had a right to demand from a member of a foreign state some consideration for the use of the money or capital lent to him, and if the foreigner applied the capital to gainful enterprise, no Mosaic principles were infringed by charging him interest. This permission only applied

to sums borrowed for money-making purposes. When the Gentile needed the loan of money not for commerce but for his subsistence, the Mosaic law made no difference between the stranger and the Jew—it being written: “And if thy brother be waxen poor and his hand faileth with thee, then thou shalt relieve him. Yea though he be a stranger and a sojourner; that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him or increase, but fear thy God.”

This was in effect the position of Haym Salomon, as set forth in the personal letters of Madison, when the former out of his own resources was helping to keep alive the members of the Continental Congress and refusing to take interest for his loans.

Dr. Adler, of London, whom I have quoted, holds that the Mosaic law “did not allow the Jew to make any distinction between the Jew and the Gentile in the exercise of philanthropy. He was bidden to visit the sick among the non-Israelites, to relieve the poor and to bury the dead even as those of his own people.”

The highest authorities in Christian churches are ranged against the charge that the Jewish law was based on race selfishness. Dean Stanley gave weighty expression to the opposite view when he said: “They,” the Commandments, “represent to us both in fact and idea, the granite foundation, the immovable mountain, on which the world is built up, without which all theories of religion are but as shifting and fleeting clouds; they give us the two homely fundamental laws, which all subsequent religion has but confirmed and sanctioned—the law of our duty towards God and the law of our duty towards our neighbor.”

It seems too clear to require argument that the Jews of the Middle Ages were not only driven to lending money because the business was prohibited to others, but they

were driven to it by having other callings closed against them. A great Catholic Bishop has declared: "O, Nations, if you recall the past faults of the Jews and their corruptions, let it be to deplore your own work."

Though the lending of money was forced upon the Jew during the Middle Ages by the necessities of society and of himself, none the less the occupation won his race the ill-will of the public generally and especially of those who borrowed.

"Hold, Father," said Isaac in Ivanhoe, responding to the angry friar, "mitigate and assuage your choler. I pray for your Reverence to remember that I force my monies upon no one. But when churchman and layman, prince and prior, knight and priest, come knocking to Isaac's door, they borrow not his shekels with these uncivil terms. It is then 'Friend Isaac, will you pleasure us in this matter, and our day shall be truly kept or God sa'me.' And 'Kind Isaac, if ever you served man, show yourself a friend in this need!' And when the day comes and I ask my own, then what hear I but 'Damned Jew!' and 'The curse of Egypt on your tribe!,' and all that can stir up the rude and uncivil populace against poor strangers."

When modern banking was established as a science, and all classes of society which were able to engage in it were permitted to do so, the prejudice against money lending steadily disappeared, and in time it even became a fashionable occupation. As this sage approached, the accumulated experience of the Jew and his command of the laws of finance enabled him to take and to hold for a long time the primacy in the business.

The widespread dispersion of the Jews, with their close family and racial connections, facilitated their commer-

cial transactions in general and especially the movement of bullion to settle trade balances. It has been calculated for example, that Ferdinand Carvajal brought annually to London in the time of Cromwell £100,000 worth of bullion, equal then to a twelfth of the national income, and this was urged as one of the reasons for admitting the Jews into England. By a natural drift, the bullion broking of Europe came almost wholly into the hands of the Jews. Hallam apparently credits the origin of the modern check and bill of exchange to Jewish initiation. In a footnote in his "Europe During the Middle Ages" he observes: "Orders to pay money to a particular person were introduced by the Jews about 1183." The decline of the Jewish influence in Italy was attributed "to the transfer of their trade in money to other hands. In the early part of the thirteenth century the merchants of Lombardy took up the business of remitting money by bills of exchange."

A painstaking investigator has pointed out, that beyond this very important contribution to the machinery of modern exchange, the Jew cannot be credited or reproached for the organization of war financing, the bourse or stock exchange or the great instruments for developing and monopolizing commerce. Ehrenberg in his "Das Zeitalter der Fugger" attributes the beginning of the modern credit system and thus of modern capitalism in Europe to the need of money payments to mercenary soldiers in the wars between Charles the Fifth and Francis I from 1520 onward. Here for the first time in European finance large sums were lent to governments by individual firms, on the security of the taxes, the Fuggers in Augsburg, financing Charles V; the Strozzi being the main backers of Francis I. While both these leading capitalists enlisted the resources of many other German and Italian firms, there is no evidence of any Jewish capital-

ists being concerned in the first great attempt to finance modern states as military organizations. There is, further, no original connection of the Jews with the exchanges in which these large credit transactions were consummated.

The first systematic daily exchange has been traced to Bruges where a special building was named the "Bursa," from a family of Bruges, Van der Burse, which had a purse on its coat of arms. Both name and custom were transferred to Antwerp where the model of all European bourses was built in 1531. In this establishment research has been unable to trace any Jewish participation, or in the founding of the Royal Exchange in London by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1572, in imitation of the Antwerp Exchange at a time when there were practically no Jews in London.

Very slight, if any, connection of the Jew, also, appears in the formation of the great trading companies in which the shares had a face value endorsed to bearer and could be dealt with as negotiable property. The beginning of recognized joint stock trading dates from the formation of the Dutch East India Company in 1602. The historian Watjen ascertained from an examination of the books of this company that of the first subscription of six and a half million florins the Jewish contribution consisted of 4,800 florins or less than one-tenth of one per cent. Watjen further shows that no Jew was allowed to become a higher official of this company and not even a director. Similarly in England Jews were excluded from all the "regulated companies" headed by the English East India Company. Yet no restrictions or exclusions availed to repress the push of the Jews for participation in trade. In fact trade seemed to revolve around them.

The entry obtained in the Dutch West India Company principally by Brazilian Jews who had been driven out of

Brazil by persecution, was largely instrumental in transferring the bulk of sugar planting and trade from Brazil to the West Indies, and before the end of the seventeenth century the Jews were distinguished for activity and success in every seaport which gave them a lodgment, and they brought prosperity to the port as well.

Joseph Addison's connection with the British State Department gave him a comprehensive view of international trade probably unexcelled by any observer of his time. He remarks in an essay in "The Spectator" that the Jews "are, indeed, so disseminated throughout all the trading parts of the world that they are become the instruments by which the most distant nations converse with one another and by which mankind are knit together in a general correspondence. They are like the pegs and nails in a great building, which though they are but little valued in themselves are absolutely necessary to keep the whole frame together." They were a species of international cement, binding nations together. It does not appear that the bogey of monopoly had risen before Addison's eye, and the spread of competition soon made it impossible to stir up an alarm to the prejudice of the Jews.

Previous to the beginning of the nineteenth century the part played by the Jew in finance had been chiefly that of private money lender and bullion broker and he attained no position of conspicuous dignity at least in international finance until the rise of the house of Rothschilds, based on extraordinary service to the landgrave of Hesse, who made Rothschild his chosen agent for the investment of his great private fortune largely in Frankfort loans and the Danish State debt. Nathan Rothschild, one of five sons, went to England about 1805, and had a successful career as a manufacturer and bullion broker;

and through him the money of the Grand Duke was applied to the purchase of bullion for Lord Wellesley, just entering upon his Spanish campaigns.

Upon the death of Sir Francis Baring in 1810 Nathan Rothschild became the unquestioned master of the London bullion market and payments on the continent by England in the wars with Napoleon from 1808 were made by him, reckoned to amount to £15,000,000. A story throwing light upon the rise of the Rothschild firm, has been so often told that it will bear another repetition.

In 1815 Nathan repaired to Belgium, that battleground of Europe and inhabited by a warlike race from the time of Cæsar. Napoleon had thrown his armies across northern France to strike the decisive blow. From a high point Nathan Rothschild witnessed the battle of Waterloo and saw all the varying fortunes of that dramatic day. After the coming of the Prussians had brought about the decisive defeat of the French, he set out for England first upon a fast horse, then across the stormy sea in a fisherman's boat, and then again in saddle, until he reached London on the morning of the second day when he bought securities to the full limit of his ability.

When the news finally reached the public what he had bought went up in value quickly and largely. It was estimated that he had made \$10,000,000 on the rise.

It has been urged that Nathan Rothschild was betting upon a sure thing and that his conduct was not ethical. However that may be, he was at no disadvantage with speculators since his day, who were not Jews, who have taken advantage of knowledge they had obtained as members of boards of directors or have even secured advance knowledge of the decisions of courts or governments by methods akin to bribery, or have disseminated false reports in order to influence markets. He was using knowledge which he had gained with great foresight and even

at the risk of his life. He was at least upon as high a plane as the speculators' perennial code. Yet if he had taken the broader view, and relieved the anxiety of thousands of mothers who had sons in the battle and the suspense of the many millions of the people of England when the fortunes of their country were at stake, he would have shown himself a better citizen; and, indeed, from the narrow standpoint of his own fortunes he would have established his house more solidly in public opinion than anything it could gain from the millions made in the speculation.

After Waterloo the great Jewish house became the banker for kings and through the power of money very nearly attained control of the destinies of nations. The Rothschilds were conscious of their power and sometimes ruled sovereigns and statesmen with a rod of iron.

The five brothers Rothschild with establishments in Paris, Vienna and Naples, as well as in Berlin and London, from 1818 onward were the chief medium through which the Governments of Europe issued their loans for thirty years, but with the introduction of the joint stock principle into banks and institutions like the credit mobilier, their predominance was considerably decreased, while the general influence of the Jews in finance was extended, for combinations of Jewish firms were prominent in the new organizations; and such firms did not act together. Heine refers to Rothschild and Fould as "two rabbis of finance who were as much opposed to one another as Hillel and Shammai," and in later days the conflict of Montagu with Rothschild was equally marked in London. The Sterns obtained the Portuguese loans in opposition to the Rothschilds and the Pereires were successful competitors for the concession for the South Russian railways.

Although the misfortune of the Barings in 1890 left

the firm of Rothschild predominant for the time in the financial world, it would be misleading to regard the Jewish element in international finance as increasing in importance during the whole of the nineteenth century. On the contrary it reached its peak, in 1848, when the third French Revolution reduced the importance of Baron James de Rothschild, and at the same time introduced the principle of state loans. Since that time, other organizations, English, French and German not of the Jewish race, have established branches in the different capitals of Europe as well as in North and South America. The development of America brought great houses into existence which were able to dispute their primacy and the Rothschilds no longer wielded the financial sceptre. Very much was taken from the importance of private bankers when the public funds were subscribed for directly by the people. This practice which was inaugurated on a large scale in 1848 culminated in 1917 and 1918 when more than \$20,000,000,000 of bonds were bought directly from the Government by the American people. The multiplication of incorporated banks and trust companies also cut very deeply into the business of the private banker.

A favorite method of juggling with the Protocols is to assert that subsequent events prove their genuineness. For instance the "elders" confess that it is the purpose of the Jews as a race to secure control of the finances of the world. "Is that not," we are asked, "the very thing they are doing? They are governing the nations through their power over money." The same wicked conspiracy could have been charged a century ago with greater plausibility and the rise of the Rothschilds would have been pointed to as fulfillment, as if the Rothschilds would not have

attempted to do what they did if they had been Hottentots. The same charge can be levelled against any other race and can be justified by the same kind of proof.

An eminent member of the Scotch clan piles up a greater amount of money than any Jew ever possessed, and he in turn is over-topped by men who deal in oil, each of whom has amassed an even greater fortune; or a gentleman who certainly cannot be charged with any Jewish affiliation rolls up in a few years in the automobile business a greater fortune than any group of the Rothschilds ever could claim; or an American banking firm conducts financial operations for nations in the great world war of a magnitude that eclipses all the exploits of banking since the beginning of time. What is to be said of these gentlemen? What, for instance of the great house of Morgan which is a power in every capital? If these particular things had been done by Jews what a godsend it would be to those who are riding the hobby that the Jews seek to control the money of Christendom for the glory of their race and in furtherance of a conspiracy for it to rule the world. They are even accused of establishing the lines of the Federal Reserve Act. But if they have committed no greater crime than that their forgiveness would not seem to be beyond hope. One hears nothing of the race stock of a Rockefeller or a Morgan, but if they were Jews one would hear nothing else.

Undoubtedly the Jew is clever in banking as in general business, but so are other men and all of them are willing to do all the profitable business they are capable of doing.

It is pure assumption to say that a man is in business as a Jew any more than as an Englishman or as a member of any other race, and it is but ludicrous to ascribe the strivings of any of them merely to the spur of race. Even more transparent is it to point to the success of individu-

als, in winning what nearly all men are striving for, as evidence of a racial conspiracy.

The charge is made that in fulfillment of the Protocols Jewish conspirators have secured control of the vital industries of the country. The question that directs attention to our common knowledge is an effective answer. Do they control in lumber, coal, iron and steel, oil, grain, cotton and wool, the great banking institutions, insurance companies, the motor industry, meats, railroads, or in any of the great so-called trusts?

It is charged that the Jew is securing control of the newspapers. One who is reasonably well informed has only to run over in his mind the names of the different journals and their owners to conclude that the vast majority of them are controlled by others than Jews. It is true that here and there some moribund newspaper with an honorable past has been saved from bankruptcy by Jews and has become prosperous. One who came to this country, a penniless immigrant from Austria, reestablished the New York World and transformed it from decadence into a newspaper of great power. Certainly the acquisition of the World by Joseph Pulitzer or of the New York Times by Adolph Ochs constituted anything but a menace.

In private finance, where the control of the Jew is reputed to be the strongest, the membership of the New York Stock Exchange would be to an extent indicative. Jews form less than one-eighth of its membership although representative of more than one-fourth of the population of the city.

XV: *In the Stresses of Wall Street*

THE controversy about the Jew centers most fiercely upon his relations to finance and business. The summary already given of the development of the Jews' part in finance shows that most of the occupations by which he might make a living were for a long period closed to him, except that of money lender, and it is as money lender that the literature of the world has been chiefly concerned with him.

Shakespeare has immortalized the financial Jew in Shylock and that character has been a favorite with so many poets that his real paternity has long been in dispute. But Shylock is only Shylock, who may or may not ever have had an existence as an individual. He certainly does not exist as a type or representative of the ancient or modern Jew. Willingness to lose his money, and to take life instead, because it was nominated in the bond, is as far as possible from the characteristics of the Jew. The steady success of the Jew in business is of itself sufficient to dispel the idea that business dishonor or the spirit of revenge are his animating characteristics.

As to the basis for Jewish success in business, a notable man of their own has recently written upon the subject with such point and brevity that what he says is well worth quoting:

"According to the Scriptures," cites Mr. Adolph Lewissohn, "in the early stages most Jews were engaged as farmers in tilling the land and at that time distinguished themselves in this vocation. Later on, when the opportunity to work on the land was denied to the Jews in most of the countries, they turned their energies to commerce and industry, and they have been most successful in that direction. The main reason for the success of the Jews as bankers and in trade has been their integrity and dependability, which earned for them the confidence of the

community. During the Napoleonic wars, when the German Grand Duke of Hesse left for the front and wanted to safeguard his possessions during his absence he did not deposit his property with any large bank or bankers publicly known in the large centres, but instead chose a small banker of his country with whom he deposited his wealth without any security. On the Grand Duke's return from the war this small country banker, whose name was Rothschild, handed him back his possessions with interest added. That was the foundation of the great wealth and standing of the Rothschild family, based on honesty and trustworthiness. I am confident that the main reason for the great success of the Jews all over the world as bankers and in industry and trade is the confidence which the Jew justly inspires."

The idea presented by Mr. Lewisohn is that the Jew succeeds in business and trade because he can be relied upon, and he illustrates his idea by the founding of the house of Rothschild, which was based upon his rigid observance of the trust which had been reposed in him in perilous times. Having received the fortune of another, he preserved it, not hidden in a napkin but in service, and he faithfully returned the fortune itself and what he had made it yield.

This summary derives force from the name of the writer, Adolph Lewisohn, who has represented fine achievements in business, in the way he has performed the duties of citizenship and in philanthropy. His great fortune was not made greater by means of crooked flotations palmed off upon trusting investors. Giving princely sums to education and to public service, he confined his gifts by no means to the institutions of his race, but has aided the work of those which have sought to serve society at large. Chief Justice Taft once said of him "The country is the better for Adolph Lewisohn's coming."

Wall Street is the term that is generally used in speaking of high finance, and cynical critics choose often to associate it with crooked finance. From the establishment of Wall Street as an institution the Jew has played a part there, though varying from time to time in importance. But at no time has he played a greater part according to his proportion of the population than have other sections of the people. He took part with others in the formation of the Exchange, and almost from its start, from 1823 to 1855, a Jew, as Secretary was its chief executive—the Presidency an honorary office. Members of the race have always served upon the highest governing committees of the Exchange.

When Andrew Jackson joined battle with Nicholas Biddle and destroyed the United States Bank there were many charges of fraud and financial corruption. A quarter of a century later there were great contract iniquities brought to light in the civil war, and in the Credit Mobilier and other scandals the names of financiers and statesmen were brought to shame. Sensational frauds were committed under our tariff laws. But in all this the Jew was not conspicuous, even if he was seen at all.

There is, indeed, one Jew name notably connected with high finance depravities . . . but it is that of one who has brought them to light. Samuel Untermyer, has become nationally known for the crusading part he has played in these investigations, even as Charles Evans Hughes won his earliest distinction in the insurance investigation. But neither in the Shipbuilding Trust that Untermyer exposed, nor in the insurance situation that Hughes purged was there Jewish responsibility disclosed.

Wall Street has had more than one black day in its history and the day that stands out conspicuously among

them is known as "Black Friday." The date was September 23rd, 1869.

The business of the country was upon an inflated paper basis, but the Government paid its debt interest in gold, and merchants were compelled to buy gold in order to pay their import duties at the custom house. That metal, therefore, became a prime article of speculation. Like wheat and cotton and other things dealt in speculatively, much of the substance of gold departed and it became largely atmospheric.

A determined effort to corner gold was engineered by men of great ability and financial strength to push up the price; and plots seemed shamelessly to proceed even to the very doors of the White House. But they were foiled at last by the honest soldier there.

James Fisk and Jay Gould were the promoters of the attempted corner. The time selected was when the farmers were selling their crops, and the argument that had been impressed upon the officers of the government, in order that Washington might remain indifferent to the price of gold, was that wheat and other produce of the farmer would bring a higher price in currency if the price of gold was high.

Upon the morning of that black day gold was selling at about 130. Orders to buy enormous quantities were thrown into the market, designed to exhaust all selling orders and to leave no limit to the price that could be reached. The quotation was quickly flung up 30 points, and 30 more were threatened.

The meaning of this was that one dollar in gold would cost those who must have it a dollar and a half and perhaps two dollars or three dollars in the current money of the people, dependent upon the heights to which the metal could be made to soar. Industry and commerce were alarmed. The solvency of great merchants and

banks was in danger. The Wall Street market had never before witnessed such an audacious drive.

Wall Street's Gold Room and all the streets about it were in swirls of delirium. Up and up the quotations were remorselessly lifted. There seemed nothing that might be able to thwart the designs of the conspirators.

One man stood resolutely in the way. James Brown, stalwart in the quality which has kept for generations in the name of Brown Brothers the hallmark of honor, was the market leader of those who would be the victims of the success of the wild speculation. Albert Speyers, broker for the Gould-Fisk combination, bid 150 for \$1,000,000 gold. James Brown sold it to him. For another million Speyers immediately bid 155. For two millions he bid 160, Brown supplied both amounts. This did not check the market.

"One hundred and sixty for \$5,000,000!" cried Speyers and Brown sold to him that. It was a transaction which astounded the speculators, both by the audacity of the Speyer bid and for the Brown courage with which it was met.

The Gold Room could only be described as the scene of a riot. Excited witnesses, after the Wall Street fashion, shouted out that the government was coming to the rescue, that the treasury was baffling the designs of the corner conspirators by throwing on the market its accumulated pile of gold, and that Brown Brothers already had the selling orders. Brown said nothing—ignoring Fisk who bawled into the frenzied crowd:

"Don't you worry about Washington. Washington is fixed! The old man Corbin," (Colonel Corbin was brother-in-law to President Grant) "the old man Corbin is my partner."

After he had filled Speyers' bid for the five millions which the corner manipulators expected would be the

beginning of a panic stampede of sellers and a consequent flight of the price to disastrous heights, Brown, with a great hoard of gold to offer, took the aggressive and threw vast amounts on the market at steadily lower and lower prices—bull panic changing to a bear panic, with the price crashing with each sale until gold was offered even below the price at which it had opened in the morning.

To understand the consternation of the conspirators one has but to estimate their loss on the single five million dollar lot which they had bought at 160—there being \$1,500,000 shrinkage on this single transaction.

No man there on that “Black Friday” knew, if indeed he cared to know, what the actual price might be, and least of all he who was first to lift the figure to its top, for Albert Speyers had collapsed, fallen in exhaustion, trying to maintain his loud-lunged shout, “For five millions, or any part, a hundred and sixty!”

Edmund Clarence Stedman—known as the Banker-Poet later—was a Wall Street newspaper man at that time; and in his reportorial column in the Tribune wrote the following:

*High over all, and even higher,
Was heard the voice of Israel Freyer—
A doleful knell in the storm swept mart—
“Five millions more! and for my part
I'll give one hundred and sixty!”*

*Israel Freyer—the Government Jew—
Good as the best—soaked through and through
With credit gained in the year he sold
Our treasury's precious hoard of gold,
Now through his thankless mouth rings out
The leaguer's last and cruellest shout—
“Five millions more!—for any part!
(If it breaks your firm, if it cracks your heart)
I'll give one hundred and sixty!”*

*. . . but listen! hold!
In screwing upward the price of gold
To that dangerous, last, particular peg,
They had killed their goose with the golden egg!*

*Just then the metal came pouring out
All ways at once like a water-spout,
Of a rushing, gushing, yellow flood,
That drenched the bulls wherever they stood!
It came by runners, it came by wire,
To answer the bid of Israel Freyer,
It poured in millions from every side,
And almost strangled him as he cried—
“I’ll give one hundred and sixty!”*

*Down, down, down, the premium fell,
Faster than this rude rhyme can tell!
Thirty per cent the index slid
Yet Freyer still kept making his bid
“One hundred and sixty for any part.”*

*The sudden ruin had crazed his heart,
Shattered his senses, cracked his brain,
And left him crying again and again—
Still making his bid at the market’s top,
(Like the Dutchman’s leg that never would stop)
“One hundred and sixty-five millions more!”
Till they dragged him howling from the floor.*

Mr. Stedman speaks of Speyers as “the Government Jew.” It has been affirmed and on good authority it has been denied, that Speyers was a Jew, but let the contention of those, who claim that he was a Jew, be admitted.

As has appeared in the earlier parts of this work, in every great crisis of the United States the Jew was in the front of the Nation’s and humanity’s righteous ranks, and concede for the argument that here on Black Friday, was a Jew in as black an adventure as buccaneering ever undertaken. Albert Speyers was one of the old men of the

Gold Room; his discretion was axiomatic; though many interests might at different times employ his services, his loyalty to no individual was questionable; over and over, difficult tasks had been committed to him by Daniel Drew and Jay Gould and Commodore Vanderbilt, and all, however complicated their transactions may have been, had uniformly found him dependable. Often the United States Treasury itself had employed him, until he had come to be known popularly as the "Government Jew" as he is called in the verses of Stedman—the phrase not an epithet, but a title earned in honor.

In their carefully engineered campaign, the Fisk combination had taken care to employ a broker of the highest repute. One need not be concerned to defend Albert Speyers; although it may be said with entire safety that he was at no disadvantage with the Christians, or rather with the Gentiles with whom he was associated on that fateful day. It may be insisted that among the many bad men who have from time to time appeared in finance, here was one bad Jew. But that would not be just to Albert Speyers. His whole life had been devoted to the duty of buying and selling upon a commission for other traders as he was ordered. He was not a principal but a broker, buying for clients upon orders, and those clients were in this instance masters in Wall Street; and just as firmly as the fifteenth century Jew walked to the stake, he stood by the obligations of his employment and insisted on his employers keeping the contracts they had ordered him to make. And when the orders kept pouring in to buy, he went straight forward calling out "one hundred and sixty for five million or any part" until the "corner" was hopelessly broken.

Speyers entered the contest that morning fairly rich, for he had been successful as a commission broker; but he emerged from it a poor man, for Fisk loftily repudiated

his account, and the broker thus became personally liable for all his transactions. He did not attempt to evade them. Instead of that, he stood by each purchase that he had made, and—voluntarily, insistently—went with James Brown into the presence of Fisk and verified them all. Fisk appealed to the broker's selfish interest.

“Speyers,” he said, as reported by Mr. Stedman, “you can ask anything of us, money, capital or service. What do you care about these brokers? You have a family of children, the brokers are rascals.”

Speyers' reply was “I took your orders and I executed them. You have got to keep your contracts.”

It is said that he was offered two hundred thousand dollars, but he spurned it. A congressional investigation was ordered with James A. Garfield at its head. Speyers could not be kept away by persuasion or threat or inducement of any sort, and the truth was brought to light. He refused to take part in any settlement and he died a poor man.

With or without significance, his funeral services were in a Christian church.

There had been in this country achievements of high finance on a large scale, of which Wall Street was not the theater. When Martin Van Buren succeeded Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1837 the country had a genuine panic.

Jackson had smashed the United States Bank and there had been hot-housed into existence some six hundred banks, each of them printing currency notes, lending at high rates, stimulating, by the glut of currency and credits, business of all sorts and especially of the speculative kind. These new, raw banks had nearly three hundred millions of “capital,” about two hundred and fifty

millions of currency notes against it, and outstanding loans of more than five hundred millions. This was a somewhat ambitious financial program.

In the last months of Jackson's administration it was announced that there would be money distributed from the national Treasury among the States. Nearly forty millions coming from the sale of public lands had been set aside for this purpose and one-fourth of it would be distributed forthwith. This generous schedule augmented even the popularity of Jackson. Payment was to be made to the States in coin. But a firm of Jewish bankers in Wall Street, J. L. and S. Josephs, who were representatives of the Rothschilds, ventured to protest against the distribution. Government cost had not been counted, urged the Josephs. Where were the ten millions of specie to come from? There was danger in the policy. But the objections were swept aside. The sneer that they were Jews was deemed sufficient to put the stamp of condemnation upon their counsels of conservatism. They should be segregated in a Ghetto and not consorting with Christians.

The distribution went on. One bank failed and then another, till the entire banking system of the country went to pieces. Fortunes were destroyed. State governments were crippled.

Among those who failed was the Jewish firm of Josephs. They had protested against the policy, but they were a part of the financial system of the country. They would not repudiate the commitments coming to them from clients and correspondents, whose transactions were based upon a financial system which suddenly had collapsed. In their report to the European House of Rothschild they did not indulge in complaints; they showed their optimism. "America is hurt," they said, "but only for a while. We must suffer, but we hope. Prudence has been absent

in the public places. There have been no Jews engaged in Government oversight of banking."

Then he who was to become the most conspicuous Jewish banker in America began his career: August Belmont, born in Germany. He was made the American representative of the Rothschilds.

In the New York of that time there do not appear to have been any Jews of great wealth. In a published list of the richest hundred citizens there were few millionaires—Lenox, Astor, Stuyvesant, Morris, Phelps, Harper Brothers, the two Lorillards, and Stephen Whitney with ten millions, which was the greatest fortune of all. Belmont was credited with having a hundred thousand dollars and he was the only Jew upon the list. He was personally popular. His home became a social center. He had a notable fine arts collection. His wife was of the family of Commodore Perry. Entertaining widely, he was successful, not merely in his business, but in politics. He became the head of the democratic organization, and in fact controlled it. He opposed the reconstruction policy of the Government, and was a staunch friend of Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, who was later made by President Cleveland our first foreign Ambassador. He threw his influence for Bayard's nomination in 1872 at Cincinnati and might have succeeded, but for the infatuation which led the democrats into making a bid for support in the republican party rather than in their own, by the nomination of Horace Greeley.

Belmont survived the panic of 1857, when every bank in New York but one suspended payment and when there was general distress throughout the country. At that time the Rothschilds were the great banking firm of the world without any near rival, and connection with them meant much to Belmont.

He had been an upholder of the Union, although his

brother Jew, his personal friend, Judah P. Benjamin, Attorney General of the Confederacy, besought him at least to take no part. He was frequently consulted by the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase; Jay Cooke, who was foremost as a Government financier in those days, steadily conferred with him and wrote in warm appreciation of the readiness of the Rothschilds to assist in the funding plans of the Government.

"The great American fortunes of this time," wrote Jay Cooke, "had not been made, and the wealth of this European banking house made an impression upon the minds of the people of which today we can scarcely conceive."

Other Jews than the Rothschilds took part in supporting the Government in its financial operations. Mr. Cooke organized two syndicates, one American and one European, to carry through a two hundred million dollar operation. He wrote that the American subscriptions were concluded "in a few days" and the European part was "60 per cent oversubscribed the first day." The names attached to the foreign subscription made up a roll of Jews: Raphael, Cohen, Seligman, Speyer, Oppenheimer.

The Seligmans were Jewish bankers who rendered great assistance to the government during the Civil War. Matthew Hale Smith is authority for the statement that Joseph Seligman visited Europe at the outbreak of the Civil War and did more probably than any other man to inspire confidence in our government; and that the Germans especially made large investments early in the war through the influence of the Seligmans.

Having occasion to talk with a veteran observer in Wall Street, who can fairly survey the activities of the Jews engaged in finance, he gave me informally his conclusions, which are well worth quoting. They rounded into a summary as follows:

"Around the year 1900 there was marked increase of the Jew proportion in Stock Exchange affairs. The widespread incorporation of private business and the public distribution of the resulting securities was an influential factor. Copper and Smelting Trusts, one with \$175,000,000 capital and the other over \$200,000,000 had been floated in 1899, and the Tobacco and Shipping Trusts, right afterward, added \$670,000,000, while during 1901 United States Steel loomed large with over a billion and a quarter. Thus more than \$2,500,000,000 new securities were put upon the market by five companies within a couple of years.

"Those were the big ones, only the big ones—all told, the hundred million kind and the five and ten million kinds, made Stock Exchange figures over twenty billions—do you, can you comprehend it—\$20,000,000,000? The man of vision was commandeered. Famous new fortunes were being every day bulletined. It required courage to withstand such a summons. The country went Wall Street mad. Mr. Morgan and Mr. Gates and Mr. Keene and Mr. Rockefeller—every big financier, every important interest, seemed all banded internally on one side. The market soared. Everybody could make money. Each morning the newspapers were able to forecast winning favorites for the day. And, of course, the natural popular feeling was that the closer to the game the surer, the quicker and the larger the profit. Moreover, many men of affairs had at the time large sums of new capital available by reason of the fact that their own business had been absorbed into new gigantic corporations whose securities were featuring this great market.

"Stock Exchange seats were in unprecedented request; commission earnings reached magnitudes of which old time brokers had never presumed to dream. Many Jewish business men, commanding capital joined the Board;

and this fresh element among the brokers brought contingents of followers from quarters that till that time had known nothing, cared nothing, for Wall Street or any of its works.

“Among the larger interests it was soon found that in virtually every group there was some especial and distinctive affiliation or clientele. It is easy to discern, for instance, why this was so in the smelting and copper trusts, for multi-millionaire Jewish operators were at the very forefront there; and only in degree, as a rule, was it different elsewhere insofar as concerned the chief industrials. When John Gates and his horde of westerners arrived it was one of Wall Street’s witticisms to quote Mr. Gates’ own slogan anent them—‘Christian gentlemen every one.’ In the Gates battalions one of the most important figures of all was a Jew, their lawyer, Max Pam. But he had little to do with the wild market performances that proceeded. While conferees breezed away boisterously at tickers and card tables and race tracks, he found time to draw a deed of trust by which he devoted a large part of his earnings to founding scholarships for the help of ambitious poor boys; and, moreover, those scholarships he placed under the control of one not of his own race or religion—Cardinal Gibbons. ‘Just a little bit of human ambition, that’s all,’ was Max Pam’s own explanation.”

This incident forms one of many evidences that enmity between the Christian and the Jew had vanished, and that the beneficence of the Jew is not limited to his own race.

“To one at all intimately familiar with what goes on in the higher levels of Wall Street,” my friend proceeded, “instances of good will transmuted into cash current are not rare enough to be noteworthy, and in doing generous things there is nothing unusual for Christian and Jew to pool issues; I happen to know the senior member of one

Stock Exchange firm who, being almost professionally on the outlook for some poor fellow to help, has a regular list of down-town associates to whom he telephones continually for contributions, and over half the names of his roll call are Jewish.

“Giving money though, does not seem to be half the test that giving time is. I know men of large affairs, Jews of the millionaire class, who do this time-giving as a regular habit. Thirty years ago I first had familiarity with the custom. There were often days when you could not make a business appointment with Mayer or Emanuel Lehman, Jesse Seligman, Edward Lauterbach, or Jacob Schiff. They had stated meetings at Mount Sinai Hospital or at some other philanthropic function with which nothing could interfere; and I recall that in the very midst of speculation as mad as Wall Street ever sees, when McLeod, the Philadelphia wizard, was controlling the Reading Railroad, and on the verge of annexing the New York and New England, his finance committee, prepared to execute millionaire contracts, was obliged to adjourn because Mr. McLeod’s mentor, Isaac L. Rice, ‘had to’ preside at an orphan asylum meeting.

“Take the case of Otto Kahn. Certainly he has enough to keep a mind engaged in the problems of big business as they play in and out of Kuhn-Loeb’s international hive, millions and tens of millions the ordinary routine there. But is Kahn absorbed? Rather, the effect is that over work on those intricacies only drives for relief to more work, differing work. From a financing Board of Directors he turns to a conference on art, from a railway reorganizing committee he breaks away to arrange an opera program, and in the middle of a session with accountants skeletonizing a merging corporation’s assets and liabilities he can turn to dictate to a stenographer the text of a public address that has to do with some public

service idea attracting him. He himself calls it recreation.

"Another phase of the Jew in finance has to do with the relation of broker and client. In the list of great traders you will find that many have chosen Jews for their confidential work. James R. Keene's personal telephone ran into Edward Wasserman's office; Edwin Hawley's share in the coup with John W. Gates in Baltimore and Ohio was committed to B. M. Baruch, following Thomas F. Ryan's discovery of his efficiency in Tobacco Trust negotiations. E. H. Harriman placed his entire Union Pacific acquisition plan and ambition in the hands of Jacob Schiff and then sat tight; and J. Pierpont Morgan, arch-Episcopalian, if interested in the immediate course of the market, kept Arthur Housman close within call. Reason? Do your own guessing, I only state the facts."

XVI: *Marvel of World Philanthropy*

“THEY shall have permission to sail to and trade in New Netherland and to live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden.” Thus ran the official order that Peter Stuyvesant, against all his protests, was obliged to obey, the order which gave entry to Jewish pioneers into what is now New York.

“The poor among them shall not become a burden.” That is the basic condition. And how has that rule—and the pledge then given—been kept? The answering record sheds a proud light upon Jewish philanthropy.

It is interesting to read the official ruling of the West India Company in its fullness—not a carelessly executed grant, but the outcome of “many consultations”; not a philanthropic declaration but just a square deal on a business basis. This was the text of it—addressed to Stuyvesant:

“26th of April, 1655.

“We would have liked to agree to your wishes and request that the new territories should not be further invaded by people of the Jewish race, for we foresee from such immigration the same difficulties which you fear, but after having further weighed and considered the matter, we observe that it would be unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss sustained by the Jews in the taking of Brazil, and also because of the large amount of capital which they have invested in shares of this company. After many consultations we have decided and resolved upon a certain petition made by said Portuguese Jews, that they shall have permission to sail to and trade in New Netherland and to live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or to the community, but be supported by their own nation. You will govern yourself accordingly.”

Sequel? Over two thousand Jewish charitable organizations are actively, continuously at work—many of them

with widespread branches, lodges and agencies; and this computation does not include purely local friendly functioning associations found in nearly every community. So vast in this largesse—the bounty so generous, the givers so numerous—there have been actual embarrassments at times in arranging distribution.

To attain the utmost of good, systematization was necessary. Union, not so much in giving as in relieving, was essential. Distinctive, local, individual charity needed to be centralized, compacted, to gain the objective of maximum service. So came about the Federation of Charities—one of the greatest achievements of the American Jews.

The loud calls for help that the World War precipitated hastened the rounding out of this comprehensive clearing house for benevolence. Its accomplishments constitute a record which it will be difficult to parallel in the way of cooperative charity. True hearted men and women have put self-consideration aside in devotion to its purposes.

It would be tedious to recount the list of gifts and givers, and in many instances publicity would do violence to the purpose of the donors who gave secretly and whose generosity was revealed only after they had died. But it is well to make note of the nature rather than the magnitude of the gifts. They were much broader than the limits of the race. Most of the important colleges of America and many lesser ones were richly helped; the International School at Williams, of which James Bryce was the leading figure, was financed by Bernard M. Baruch, and Julius Rosenwald gave practically without limit to maintain the Young Men's Christian Association among the colored people of the South. Hospitals, schools for orphans and dependent children were estab-

lished or given help and there was a generous response to the appeal made from almost every part of our complex social structure. There was scarcely a limit to the range of Jewish giving. These gifts are not come from swollen fortunes so large as to be an embarrassment to their possessors, but largely from the moderately rich and well-to-do. Instead of the slogan of wartimes, "Give till it hurts," the motto proposed by Nathan Straus was substituted, "Give till it feels good." As a result within a few years vast sums in the aggregate have been contributed by Jews to the uplifting and charitable uses of society. And in addition they have followed the early injunction of the Dutch government of New York and have taken care that "the poor among them shall not become a burden." And the gifts have been supplemented and sanctified by personal service.

Yet the records of philanthropies of outstanding character are so abundant and have cut so potential a figure that I am led to quote here from the statement of a friend whose knowledge is at first hand—as, in a preceding chapter, I have quoted from one personally familiar with what concerned finance. He spoke as follows:

"Jacob H. Schiff—long years, among the Jews of America, the outstanding personification of stintless philanthropy—joined in perfecting distribution plans, under the leadership of his relative and business partner, Felix M. Warburg,* to whose administrative capacity Federation achievements chiefly owe their vast scope and successes.

"What Mr. Schiff upon his own individual initiative did for charity's sake makes a life-time record of almost

* "That great son of Israel (I speak it ardently) that noble son of our race, that man who knows what sacrifice means, that man who for seven years past has laid aside all of his great business and devoted himself whole heartedly to the cause of Israel—Felix M. Warburg."—*Louis Marshall to the Victory Conference.*

matchless magnanimity. In the business world his career was coincident with J. P. Morgan's, and he won similar distinction—the friend and counsellor of James J. Hill, financier of E. H. Harriman, banking intimate of the Rockefellers, the underwriter of premier corporation enterprise, an establisher of credit for foreign nations. Applause that the world gave to financial activities, though, gratified less than the joy found in the simple round that the man's heart led through even his busiest days. Of the millions he gave, some were registered in great sums to Harvard, and Yale, to Columbia and Cornell, and to other institutions of learning, with noble allotments to asylums, to hospitals and varying welfare agencies that public good might be served. It was in giving far away from the public eye that Jacob H. Schiff gave happily—such charities rarely revealed even to close associates.

"What particularly is pleasing in such a chronicle as this that comes from authority is the attending assurance, from the same trusted source, that in spontaneous generosity, as in lack of ostentation, Jacob Schiff was typical of the American Jew in general where fortune vouchsafes the power to give largely. Particularly does the cause of education attract.

"Rarely is a Jewish will recorded without its provision for charity, and often for objects outside of the testator's race and religious faith. In Baltimore Cardinal Gibbons was bequeathed \$15,000 by a Jew 'just to help those who need it.' In St. Louis a Jew is, after his death, discovered having done so many charitable deeds that a public school is named in his honor. In Portland Ben Selling is glad his seventieth birthday comes just in time to provide an excuse for sending an extra check for \$10,000 to the Oregon State war relief fund. The relief fund is objected to in Maryland by Jacob Epstein unless he is permitted to contribute personally ten per cent of

every dollar that is raised in the State—this same citizen having had traced to him thitherto charities that he himself never acknowledges, surpassing, it is said, a million. Charles Rubens, of Chicago, stirred by the foreign chapter of horrors, impatient for action, calls for speedy action in the national relief campaign, or he will start Illinois off alone on his own account, at his own expense; and when the campaign does get under way he is an animating leader in ten states.

"It is difficult to select examples for quotation, so long and varied the list certified by authorities I trust. J. Walter Frieberg, President of the Union of Hebrew Congregations, dies regretting that life has been too short to accomplish all he hoped for in communal work—and, forthwith, a fund of a quarter of a million of dollars is raised by widespread subscription that 'a vision of good will' shall not fade. Dr. Cyrus Adler indicates the needs of the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and immediately from Mortimer L. Schiff volumes, many of priceless value, come in steady stream. Plans are made public of an engineering project—'harnessing the Jordan'—by which industry is to be advanced in Palestine by railways, power, light and irrigation development, the initial venture calling for \$5,000,000, and Americans, who care less for dividends than to be helpful, hasten to subscribe, led by a \$25,000 investment by Justice Brandeis, Judge Julian W. Mack being President of the Development Council. The Palestine Foundation Fund, concerning which President Harding especially made written recommendation, reclaiming lands, promoting agriculture, establishing homes and maintaining schools, finds similar response to its appeal for \$9,000,000.

"Name of Nathan Straus broadly typifies the philanthropist practical and persistent. For a quarter of a century a personal crusader for disease prevention—parti-

cularly that children should not be sacrificed. Critics have called his milk pasteurization campaigns a hobby; they satirized his expenditure of fortunes in care for infantile life; any ordinary devotee of any fad would have been distracted. But year after year he expanded the distinctive work, carrying it from New York to other cities of America and then devotedly on to Europe, where at Brussels an international convention exalts him as almost premier in child protective charity—statistics showing that when he began his pasteurization work in 1892 the death rate of New York children under five years of age was over 96 per thousand, and had steadily decreased to much less than a third of that rate.

“In industrial welfare work Jewish interest and activities stand out conspicuously. Oversight of much of such service is exercised by one of a prominent national civic organization, whose driving chief executive is a distinguished leader in Christian church activities. It includes in its surveys, many of the country’s foremost corporations. Its official report, has declared that, ‘one of the most generous, most comprehensive, more efficient welfare departments of the entire list under our scrutiny is that of a cloak and suit company all of whose owners and officers and most of whose employes are Jews.’

“Apropos of endeavor toward maximum welfare service, there was significance in official action taken by Will Hays close following his taking office as Postmaster General. He found disorganization at Washington headquarters; interest and efficiency were lacking; it was essential that official personnel should be vivified. ‘I want the help of the best welfare specialist in the land,’ he broadcasted. And advisers of experience in chorus directed him to Dr. Lee K. Frankel of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

“While Theodore Roosevelt was Governor of New

York a vacancy occurred in the State Board of Charities. 'When you want a man of charity go where charity has its abiding place,' he commented, 'go to the Jews' . . . and Simon W. Rosendale, who had been Attorney General of New York, a public service enthusiast, was drafted for the post.

"Most Jewish gifts are made thoughtfully. For example, Mrs. Mayer Lehman bequeaths to Mount Sinai Hospital a large sum to establish a chair of preventive medicine—anticipating by a couple of years a benefaction with precisely the same purpose for which England has acclaimed the memory of Sir Samuel Lister. Mount Sinai Hospital is typical of practical benevolence at its highest mark. All that is humanly possible for relief of suffering, for the saving of life, is operative there—millions invested, and more millions in constant onward flow for good works' sake—Jewish great heartedness welcoming equally the Christian with the Jew! And as at Mount Sinai, in New York, just so it is all America over—as is provable by consultation of a current official report of any Jewish welfare organization anywhere in America.

"How curious now sounds that seventeenth century edict under whose conditions those Jews who, first comers here, were granted admission to our shores . . . 'Provided that the poor among them shall not become a burden.' "

"Never in world history was pledge ever more royally kept!" claims Herbert Hoover.

XVII: *Foreign Desolation's Urgent Appeal*

PROBLEMS relating to emigration and the preparation of emigrants for the duties of citizenship have vitally concerned the Jews. The policy of the United States has been fluctuating and has not been determined upon a scientific basis. We have had many proposals of laws and congressional committees have investigated the subject here and in Europe; but it has not been satisfactorily settled. Desolation abroad brings louder knocking on our door. The New York Ghetto of earlier time presented a difficult problem in the Americanization of new emigrants. A notable picture of that condition was given by Leo N. Levi a score of years ago before a convention of Jews made up of delegates from all parts of the country.

"The statistics show," he pointed out, "that of a million who came to this country in 20 years, probably 90 per cent came into the port of New York. The statistics also show that over 60 per cent of those who arrive remain in New York.

"The so-called Ghetto of New York, bounded on the north by Houston Street, on the west by the Bowery, and running southward and eastward to the river, contains as many Jews as Detroit now (1902) contains people. The whole city of Detroit, if crowded into that little section, would displace a similar number of Jews who have come to this country from Southeastern Europe in the last 20 years, and their descendants. And that is a very small territory. There are thousands, yea, tens of thousands of citizens in the city of New York, a good many of them Jews, who have never set foot in that territory.

"In that region the language that is spoken is the * Yid-

* "Yiddish" is a jargon used only by the Russian, Polish, and Roumanian Jews. It is a mixture of old German with Russian, Polish, and other tongues. It is unknown to the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, and is not used in Germany, England, or France. It is, therefore, unwarranted to generalize as to its use.

dish of the Jews. In the stores, the articles they were accustomed to purchase in the land of their nativity are offered for sale. The signs are written in their own language in the Hebrew character. The cafes and places of amusement, the theater hall, the dance hall, everything is there which they were accustomed to, and whatever their tastes, whether good or evil, demand, is purveyed for their gratification. They think in their own language; they can worship there according to the rituals they are accustomed to; the atmosphere is one which they are acquainted with, and all other atmospheres are foreign to them.

"Now if you take any one of this audience and suddenly transport him to a foreign land, if there be a group of Americans in any one portion of that foreign country, it would be perfectly natural to gravitate to that little colony. And we would not like to get out into the interior of the country where we did not know the language of the country, the geography of the country, the habits of the people; where no one could understand us, and we could understand no one. A feeling of homesickness would overcome us, our hearts would become terrified, and if that would be true of us who are presumed to have at least some understanding of the configuration of this globe and of the difference in nationalities and habits and customs of peoples, how much more so must that be true of a class of people whose whole world had no larger horizon than the little town in which they were born and raised in some obscure part of South-eastern Europe?

"For them to come to America means for them to come to New York. They have an idea that what lies beyond the limits of New York is a wilderness; that once they get away from the Ghetto they lose the friends they were ac-

customed to; that if sickness or trouble or death comes they have no one to turn to.

"If they are religiously inclined—and the Russian Jews are—they have no place in which they can worship in harmony outside of the Ghetto. And so they cling there tenaciously, even to the brink of starvation, rather than go out into a wilderness or to give up that which is so precious to them.

"But the limit has been reached. It was reached long ago. No man, however intelligent or industrious in his reading and his research, can form the remotest idea of the conditions prevailing in the lower portion of New York, unless he goes there and makes personal inspection.

"They who have come as strangers must be educated to a better understanding of the conditions that prevail in the interior of this country, of opportunities offered everywhere for men able to work, to lift themselves and their families.

"When I took a visitor through the Educational Alliance building in New York, and told him the average attendance there was 7,000 a day year in and year out, he was amazed, as any one unfamiliar with the situation would be, that it does not make a greater impression upon the tone and the civilization that obtain here, and the answer to it is: That if we had 20 institutions located at proper places in the lower east side of New York, each a duplicate of the Educational Alliance, each one would have a like daily attendance, so stupendous is the problem there.

"We must deal with this question in a catholic spirit. We must remember a man can not get to the top unless he climbs from the bottom. We must remember those who came to this country 50 years ago had to climb from the bottom to the top, and we ought to be manly enough to know there is nothing more cowardly and disgraceful

than to climb to the top of a wall by a ladder and then kick the ladder away so that nobody can climb up afterwards."

In presenting this striking picture of the New York Ghetto—as it confronted him years ago—Mr. Levi threw a clear light upon our entire emigration problem. We can understand the magnitude of the burden thrust upon 1,000,000 Jews to find immigration doubling the number of their race in 20 years. Although Jewish isolation in New York is extreme, it is approached by some of the other races. Very much of the emigration of the last three decades has resisted amalgamation. Large groups have tenaciously clung to the language and customs and methods of thinking which they knew in their native land and as to some of these groups, intelligent effort has been sadly lacking. The process of converting much of this material into American citizens has been discouragingly slow. But the Jews at great cost have carried on an aggressive work in order to transform the Jewish immigrant into a useful and law-abiding member of the American Commonwealth. The Ghetto that Leo N. Levi lamented is steadily disappearing.

The problem of immigration has been more acute in connection with the Jews than with any other race. The inundation of these people who came to us resulted from religious and race persecution. In the greater number of instances they did not come as a result of the individual volition exercised by most incomers. They were driven from the lands of their nativity. They were inheritors of the poverty and ignorance of generations of ancestors. The effort that the American Jews have made to transform these people and put them in the way of becoming good American citizens is wholly admirable and is unsurpassed by any work done in Americanization.

My own expression of definite views on the subject of

the composite character of our citizenship, and the dangers that may accentuate or kindle antagonisms of race or sect, and produce a discord deplorable to be witnessed in our democracy, has never beenmistakable. One cannot lend weight to one's views by quotations from himself but, I am unable to give better expression of them upon the phase of the subject I am considering than appears in some lectures of mine at Yale University in 1915. "The Liberty of Citizenship" Yale University Press.

"If considerations of race or creed are to enter into our politics," I then said, "the State will be deprived of the judgment of large sections of its citizens upon public questions which should alone be considered by them and our politics will become the arena of struggles between races and sects, our statute books defaced by class laws and men proscribed from public office or put into it for no better reason than one based upon their creed or race. The men who controlled our country down to the time when our Constitution was formed were animated by a sincere love of liberty. They were filled with the fear of the unrestrained forms of government from which they had suffered persecution and which had driven them into exile.

"The most important element in establishing the greatness of America may be traced to the character of the earlier emigrants. Those emigrants were of the soundest and strongest men that could be found in the countries of northern and western Europe. Mr. Darwin has pointed to our nation as illustrating his theory of natural selection. The danger of crossing the ocean in the little ships of that time was very great, and the dangers which the imagination portrayed were even greater. The perils of a wilderness infested by savages and wild beasts were sufficiently formidable in reality but they

seemed even more alarming when they were looked upon from the eastern shores of the Atlantic. Such forbidding dangers could make no appeal to weaklings and cowards. They beckoned strong and brave men to meet them, and strong and brave men responded. All along the Atlantic, settlements were established by a hardy stock and the sterling seed was sown from which a great nation was destined to spring.

"It came about that not merely during the period before the Revolution, but for a half-century or more afterwards, this process of natural selection went on, and we see America in its making taking unto itself a virile, enterprising and daring body of citizens. The institutions adopted by people of such a character could not be otherwise than free. The atmosphere was charged with democracy and equality. Each man was in the eye of the law and of public opinion as good as every other and endowed with the same opportunity.

"But the dangers and hardships of immigration gradually melted away. It became as safe to cross the sea in modern ships as to remain at home. The savages and wild beasts had disappeared and the wilderness had given place to fields of wheat and corn. Men came over from the same motives that would lead them to move from one city or town to another in the same country. There is nothing in immigration today especially marked by dangers that call for heroes to meet them. Ideas cross the ocean with the same freedom as men and much more quickly. We have at last struck the broad level of the world, and everything political, social, or human finds its way to America. Just as every physical disease that afflicted the bodies of men in Europe has appeared on this side of the ocean, so all the problems that attacked their minds were sure to appear also. They have already arrived and we are exempt from nothing that is human

and can waive nothing away by calling it un-American. We possessed at the beginning a clean slate which committed us to nothing, and we received the development coming from our free institutions and our splendid stock. Such was the foundation and it was indeed sound.

"And what of the superstructure? Our freedom of access, our hospitality, our appealing opportunity, have brought to us each decade millions of people of stocks alien to that by which our institutions were established. We have been put under an extraordinary strain. And just as England and other nations have in the past shown their colonizing energy by sending out offshoots, planting them upon distant and empty territories and building up new nations in their own image, so we are displaying at least an equal colonizing energy in the way in which we have received these vast numbers and are assimilating them and making them over essentially into our image.

"I do not mean that the nation has in no respect been changed or modified in the process. The developments from these recent additions to our population have not yet clearly appeared, but we already can see enough to permit us to believe that as a result the nation will have not only a more cosmopolitan but a richer and a more versatile citizenship, that our free institutions will essentially remain intact and the spirit of our democracy be broadened.

"The influence which the mixture of races is likely to exert upon our institutions and civilization is certainly not less important than the character of the race type ultimately to be evolved. We have seen little as yet of the operation of the commonly accepted idea of the 'melting pot' and have witnessed little change in the individual type, but if America is to be such a melting pot, the same thing is likely to be true of the whole earth, which

is becoming through the marvels of transportation a very small affair.

"But there is a practical truth in the melting pot notion likely to be seen in times which are not remote. The fusion is more likely to be witnessed in our general achievement and in the sum of our civilization. If we shall prove reasonably homogeneous in one respect and remain devoted to democracy and the maintenance of free institutions, then, under the stimulus of our freedom, we may hope to witness in our country the noblest achievements, the fairest fruitage of the different races in our population.

"We shall have a melting pot worth while, if out of it shall come a fusion and blending of the best works of all races and a more many sided and a fairer civilization. Thus we may also await with complacency the far away time when we shall have all racial traits blended in each individual, with possibly the worst traits exaggerated and the best ones neutralizing each other. It will perhaps be as safe to take our chances with the old races, modified as they will doubtless be, but not merged into each other, nor with the identity of the original stocks destroyed.

"Projects for the restriction of immigration I will say in passing should be very cautiously undertaken. So far as they shall operate to exclude defective classes they are good.

"But one who has been denied opportunities of education cannot be considered a defective, and he may possess the best elements of citizenship. The illiteracy line furnishes a test of exclusion simply and not a test of fitness.

"If we aimed at shutting out anarchists, we could more certainly accomplish our purpose by denying admission to all who could read and write than by excluding those who could do neither."

I see no reason to modify the views I then expressed.

As to the Jewish immigrants who have been coming to us in the last two decades, it may fairly be said that they are no more poor and helpless than were the first company that landed in the realm of Peter Stuyvesant. After one or two generations of development they or their descendants are likely to repeat what we have already seen—and add another illustration to those already afforded of the value of the Jew and his works in America.

We have witnessed wonderful things done in the transformation of alien and difficult peoples, after two or three generations of the play of American life and institutions upon them. Certainly the immigrating Jews do not present the most discouraging features of the problem. Their deep poverty and the great numbers of them driven in a brief time to seek a refuge may for a time demand excessive labor and care; but these have been supplied by the fellow members of their race. They do not come to us like so many who migrate like the birds only to return again to their first country. The Jews have no temptation to go back to Poland or Russia. They soon adjust themselves to the conditions of American life. They work, they enter trade, they gradually become a part of our social order . . . and, however untrained and even hopeless they may seem in the beginning, they steadily progress.

As to witnessed Jewish "progress" . . . it is not in progressions solely, not in culture merely, not in understanding and enjoyments and influence only . . . it is witnessed progression in a citizenship that broadens in public serving . . . as, for a shining example, what can be glimpsed in a chronicle that I love to dwell upon.

American Jewry at the beginning of 1917 was gravely agitated. Chronicled horrors from the East grew ghast-

lier and ghastlier. Such philanthropy was determined upon as never before had comparable magnitude. Jacob Billikopf, a young man with notable civic achievements to his credit, had been called from Kansas City to be the fund raising director; and the elders of the Jewish Committee had approved his plan of campaign which included the thought that great good would be wrought if some one eminent representative of the people should lead off with a contribution so splendid in its size as to be impressively challenging to sympathizers everywhere.

Spontaneously, all minds went directly to the name of Julius Rosenwald—rich, not in money merely, rich in philanthropies that throughout his life had flown uninterrupted. "See Mr. Rosenwald," was prescribed for Mr. Billikopf. There were optimists who thought that perhaps Mr. Rosenwald might lead with the gift of as much as a hundred thousand dollars. He was capable of even that.

And here is the sequel as graphically told by Mr. Billikopf himself in a volume issued by the publishing house of Alfred A. Knopf, under the title of, "The Jew Pays," by M. E. Ravage:

"It was the night of the 3rd of March, 1917. On the morrow President Wilson was to be reinaugurated. If only my quarry had been in his customary haunts, so that the familiar scene might restore my ease and composure. But he, too, was at the seat of Government. It would be a crowded day for him. I had grave questionings in my heart as to whether I could even catch a glimpse of him. Affairs in New York were so situated that I must return by the midnight train on the day following. Mr. Rosenwald was not only one of the busiest members of the Council of National Defense, he was personally close to the President, and tomorrow was a great day in official Washington.

"But the fate of six millions of people in the shambles of the Eastern war-zone depended on the success of my mission. My first campaign was doomed in advance unless I brought back what I had been sent for. There was no other way. Mr. Rosenwald was the reliance of the Committee. If I allowed my discouragement to affect me and he failed us, our plans might be headed for the rocks.

"I had my task cut out for me in pacing the lobbies of Mr. Rosenwald's hotel. It grew late at night and I dared not leave my post lest he should appear while I was gone and retire to his suite before I returned. And in the meantime the hour for the last train to New York was drawing nearer and nearer, and far from having achieved the object of my expedition I had not as much as met the enemy.

"At 11 o'clock, however, Mr. Rosenwald appeared in the company of two Senators, and he proceeded to introduce me and to tell them my life history. But all the while I was rehearsing anew what I was about to say to the man I had been shadowing an entire day, assuming that I could get him alone before train time. I squeezed Mr. Rosenwald's arm significantly and whispered in his ear that I had something of importance to convey to him. 'Is it very, very important?' he asked lightly, and before I could give him my emphatic reply he bade our friends good-night and drew me off to a sofa in a corner of the lobby.

"'Well, tell me all about it,' he said as soon as we sat down. I glanced up at him and my entire harangue, on which I had spent so much arduous toil and thought, evaporated; and I heard myself, to my own great surprise, telling him in the very simplest and most unadorned style that a campaign for ten million dollars was about to be launched, that it needed some powerful dramatic stimulus to start it off effectively and to end it successfully; that

the Committee had determined that nothing but a great single gift would serve—and that he, transcendently, was the man to make that gift.

"I dwelt hardly at all on the state of things abroad, merely indicating in a matter of fact way what he was well aware of, that the condition of the European Jews was growing increasingly worse and that a renewed effort on a much greater scale than had ever been tried must be initiated. He listened without comment while my appeal was gathering momentum and climbing from argument to argument to its climax.

"I had had hundreds of conversations with Mr. Rosenwald but I had never before asked him for contributions of any sort; and never before had I seen a face so transparent and serene and yet so profoundly thoughtful. I kept praying, as I talked along, that he might not break in. We seemed both under the spell of a common great purpose, and I knew that as long as the spell was not broken the future of the undertaking was assured. As I concluded with my specific request—request for a round million—the earnestness of his expression deepened. He said merely:

"Do you think it will do good?"

"I was about to proceed with a highly colored forecast of the results of such a contribution, when he arose.

"Very well, I will do it," he said, with a gentle kindness. "You may go back to New York and tell them I'll do it."

This telegram was sequel:

The White House, Washington.

To Julius Rosenwald, Chicago.

Your contribution of one million dollars to the Ten Million Dollar fund for the Relief of Jewish War Sufferers serves democracy as well as humanity.

The Russian Revolution has opened the door of freedom to an oppressed people; but unless they are given life and strength and courage, the opportunity of centuries will avail them little. It is to America that these starving millions look for aid; and out of our prosperity, fruit of free institutions, should spring a vast and ennobling generosity. Your gift lays an obligation even while it furnishes inspiration.

WOODROW WILSON.

XVIII: Noble History's Witnesses

MR. G. K. CHESTERTON, English controversialist and wit, who had written entertainingly about Jerusalem and the Jew, avows he has no prejudice and that he is willing a Jew should be an Archbishop or sit upon the Woolsack; but "something should be done to mark the fact that he is a Jew or, at least, that he is not an Englishman." This, it seems, could be done in a way similar to that in vogue in the Middle Ages. It could be done by the costume to meet satirical Mr. Chesterton's demands for the ethnological or historical proprieties. This idea of Mr. Chesterton's is an interesting one and its complete application would add greatly to the picturesqueness of England. Have the different subjects of the King array themselves in the costumes of the countries of their supposed origin. The kilted Scotchman with his bare legs and cow hair, the African subject with a still more tropical display and those of American descent dressed in feathers and war paint in deference to the fashions of the aborigines, would make a many-hued England, even if it did not deliver her from all the dangers of her race problems.

The real difficulty is that this solution, admirable and artistic as it is, does not go quite deep enough. What should the Englishman wear and who is the Englishman ethnologically? Is he not himself an imported article and, indeed, no more recent than the Jew? The Jew crossed the channel with the legions of Cæsar, when Mr. Chesterton's forbears were disporting themselves at their savage pursuits in the forests of Northern Europe or were skirting the shores of Denmark, pursuing the fish or more human prey. It is true that the so-called English drove out the Jew as a preliminary to rescuing the Holy Sepulchre, but a happening like that should not have influence upon such an important question as costume, when we are seeking to recognize historical proprieties.

Why not at once go to the very bottom of the problem and frankly recognize that we all swarmed from the Asiatic hive, Mr. Chesterton with the rest of us, and that we should all take to the turban; that the most of us belong to wandering nations like the Jews, and do not strike our roots deeply into the soils on which we now happen to live. The whole earth is the abode of man. We are all at home wherever we are. But the Jew alone of all nationalities can, it seems, acquire no prior rights by settlement . . . and indeed no rights at all. The Englishman or the German becomes a proprietor, but the Jew—who long preceded him—must be only an alien.

Ah, the sickening meanness of it all!

But amiable ridicule kills nobody and is an innocuous survival of the practices of an expiring order. That it is, however, upon a dangerous subject is shown by agitations that have taken place well within our time when in every country except Russia and Roumania toleration is supposed to have arrived.

There is the case of the impressed soldier, Dreyfus, on the very verge of the twentieth century. He was tried by court martial and convicted of furnishing Germany with French military secrets, and he received a sentence not short of barbarous. A ferocious furore was aroused and the hatred towards the Jews was kindled again. Some circumstances pointing to injustice appeared, and a review was demanded by Emil Zola and others and fought for most bravely. The agitation against the Jews was heightened, the more deeply the affair was probed, until Zola was compelled to fly from France and an attempt was made to assassinate M. Labori, the eloquent counsel of Dreyfus, intrepidly dragging the truth to the light before the high Court of France; and it was revealed that

French military secrets had indeed been sold to Germany, but that Dreyfus was wholly innocent and had been convicted by forged and perjured evidence, in order to shield non-Jewish officers of the staff who had done the deed and received the money and who found it convenient to play upon the prejudice against the Jew in order to escape with their lives and loot.

If such a thing could be done in a chivalrous and highly civilized state like France, what may not be expected elsewhere?

A similar thing was witnessed about the same time in Austria. Charges against a Jew were fabricated so shocking that a general persecution of the race followed. But in the trial before a court so prejudiced that conviction seemed a certainty, the cross-examination by able counsel utterly destroyed the case and acquittal could not be avoided.

A few years previously a formidable attempt to revive proscription had been made in Germany and it required all the strength of Bismarck and of the liberal sentiment to thwart it. Race persecution and especially persecution of a race so long hunted as the Jews is a fire easy to be kindled and hard to be put out. There probably never was a time more favorable for doing away with it altogether than in this period following the World War. The Jews were loyal to the flag of every country in which they lived, unless of those East Europe countries whose governments were conspiracies against their own freedom. Loyalty is a phrase with a depth and sweep that make its use most unfitting to express the relation which one would hold toward an admitted tyranny.

In the many fields of our complex civilization, in science, art, literature, finance, business, and those good

works which flower out into a noble philanthropy not limited by race lines, he is doing his full part and is in generous rivalry with the members of every other race. What good ground can be imagined for continuing to bait the Jew? Each one of the race should obviously be judged on his own merits and should receive neither immunity nor condemnation because he is a Jew. If a Jew goes wrong it is because he is a Jew, but if a Christian does the same thing it is because he is dishonest. If the fault were charged against the individual instead of the race then a Jew might be appraised at his own merit as are other members of the community.

It is undeniable that the Jews have shown a higher order of political talent during the short period of time in which it has been possible for them to take part in politics. The career of Disraeli furnishes a most striking illustration. Although he was pitted against Gladstone who was the foremost Englishman of his century, he showed himself in spite of the fiercest prejudice a successful party leader, and rose to the chief place in the government of the British Empire. At the same time Lasker, another Jew, was the leader of the liberal party in Germany and Gambetta, a part Jew, was showing himself the most brilliant parliamentary orator of France. And among the Jews who have become conspicuous in their relation to the administration of governments, one must not overlook Walter Rathenau who had become the rising hope of Germany, and, indeed, of Europe, when his light was quenched by an infamous assassination. They have also attained eminence in the law, and may be found upon the highest courts in Europe and America and among the foremost lawyers of different countries. Lord Reading as Chief Justice, Ambassador and Viceroy illustrates the extraordinary ascent of his race in Great Britain from the time when the first Jew was accepted as a jury-

man in 1835. I have already referred to Judah P. Benjamin, who attained high distinction in America, and afterwards went to England, and became one of the leaders of the English bar. One can understand how such a race might be suppressed in law and politics through envy, but not through any patriotic desire to conserve valuable elements of citizenship.

The Jew has in a high degree the spirit of adventure in practical affairs. He will bravely put his stake upon his judgment and if losses come he will accept them with serenity and adventure again. He is sleepless in his enterprise and industry. How he made practical use of his talents during the middle ages, in a way that advanced civilization, has been portrayed by a great historian, W. E. H. Lecky:

“Whilst those around them were grovelling in the darkness of besotted ignorance, while juggling miracles and lying relics were themes on which almost all Europe was expatiating, while the intellect of Christendom, enthralled by countless persecutions, had sunk into a deadly torpor in which all love of inquiry and all search of truth were abandoned, the Jews were still pursuing the path of knowledge, amassing learning and stimulating progress, with the same unflinching constancy that they manifested in their faith. They were the most skillful physicians, and ablest financiers and among the most profound philosophers. While they were only second to the moderns in the cultivation of natural science, they were also the chief interpreters to Western Europe of Arabian learning.”

An accusation commonly made against the Jew is that he will take unfair advantage of those less skillful than himself. But surely the Jew does not possess a monopoly.

The line between honesty and dishonesty hardly coincides with the lines between races. Very good English names for instance are associated even at this day with the infamous practice of peonage by which in some states of the American Union ignorant black men are cheated of their labor which is all they possess. The most shady things that were ever charged against the Jew in finance and trade can be matched by the doings of so-called Christians. While there is room for improvement in the character of business dealings between men, they have improved greatly over what they once were. It is an assumption to say that Jews generally employ standards of business lower than those of other men. But each Jew should be judged upon his own merits, and not upon what some other Jew has done. It would be easy to discredit any element in our citizenship if only its black sheep were to be selected and held out as typical. If a Jew shows himself to be dishonest, pushing, arrogant, regardless of the rights of other men, he will be held fully responsible to the opinion of those about him. Society may be trusted to deal with him, but there can fairly, sensibly, be only condemnation for the practice of judging a man because of prejudice against his race or of judging an entire race by what some individual member of it has done.

It seems certain that the numbers of the race must be reduced if only those are to be reckoned as Jews who, after long periods of race slavery and a dispersion over the world for sixty generations, still possess the unadulterated blood of Abraham. There are said to be Mongolian Jews in Russia. There are those who are called Jews in Poland who possess none of the ordinary physical characteristics of the race. But the persistence of their religious faith, the comparative segregation of the race,

brought about by its own customs, as well as by the long-continued persecution visited upon it, and its own remarkable vitality, have preserved unimpaired among a great number the ancient Hebrew tradition and the general physical and mental characteristics of the race. It is to that large remnant that the Jewish problem essentially relates.

The Hebrew commonwealth in ancient Palestine was republican in character. It was democratic and progressive, compared with other nations in the times when it existed. While slavery was universal, especially among oriental nations, the code of the Jews secured the slave humane treatment and at stated intervals provided for his emancipation. There was also at regular times a remission of debts, and, as I have said, the law contained a prohibition of interest and a return of the titles of land to the families under whom they had become encumbered, so that a few men could not secure the ownership of the earth. The treatment of women was far better than was accorded them in the neighboring nations. That the modern Jew retains the quality shown by him in the very ancient times, and is able to move forward, is amply proven by his deeds.

When the monarchy was established, it is doubtless true that some of the Jewish kings showed themselves as despotic and as wicked as other kings, but they did violence to the genius of the people as indelibly shown in their laws and in the general trend of their history.

There is no Bourbon solidarity in the race; but its members divide much as other races divide, although many of its leaders incline strongly towards really progressive policies. A good illustration of their attitude upon such questions may be seen in the American slavery abolition movement. There were notable instances of heroism among the Jews in the battle for the Union and

liberty. Some of the members of the race, as of other races, accepted slavery as an established institution under the protection of the law and feared that agitation might destroy the Union. But others vehemently denounced it; and not alone in the safe precincts of Boston and New York, but where slavery actually existed.

Among those outspoken against it was Dr. David Einhorn, a rabbi of Baltimore. Commenting upon the formation of the Republican party, he declared in October, 1856, that he could not share the fears of those who thought the formation of that party would lead to the dissolution of the Union, "if only for the reason that if the Union in fact rests on such a thoroughly immoral basis it would appear to be neither capable of surviving nor fit to survive." He kept up the fight until, just before the outbreak of the war it was found necessary to protect him by a volunteer guard composed of young men of his own congregation, and finally he sought shelter with his family in Philadelphia, where subsequently he was elected an honorary member of the Union League with another rabbi, Dr. Sabato Morais, who had eloquently denounced slavery.

A list of remarkable names may be made from those who are partly Jewish in origin. Among them are Sir John Herschel, Robert Browning, Bret Harte, Sir John Millais, Charles Kingsley, Edwin Booth, Leon Gambetta, Sir Arthur Sullivan, Francis Turner Palgrave, Marshall Massena, General William Booth, John Howard Payne and James R. Mann who for years was Republican leader in Congress. The list might easily—and particularly as to our own country—be far prolonged.

There are special fields to which I have scarcely referred, in which we may expect from our Jewish people

notable contributions. The stage, as a distinctive example, has everything to hope from a race which has given it Rachel and Sarah Bernhardt and Von Sonnenthal and the father of Edwin Booth. In developing an American atmosphere for music, who are more likely than the Jews—with Felix Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Halevy, Rubenstein, and Offenbach—to give us a place in that art in which we have been a laggard?

We may look for very much from them in literature, not merely on account of the brilliant past but because of what Jew writers are currently doing in America. What may we not expect from a race that can claim in the list of its writers and thinkers such shining names, as Heine and Spinoza? Jewish writers in our country are showing form, imagination, strength, sanity and the capacity to hold attention.

I am not stressing the contributions which the Jews made in ancient times and which entitle them to general homage, but a reference to these contributions must not be omitted for they put the whole world under tribute. President Eliot said on the occasion of the presentation by Jacob H. Schiff of the "Semitic Museum" to Harvard University in 1903:

"Mr. Oscar S. Straus, in his book on the 'Origin of Republican Government,' has clearly shown how the Puritan Commonwealth was modelled on the Jewish Commonwealth under the Judges, and Professor Charles Eliot Norton has said that we owe to the Semitic race the conception of righteousness as a national ideal embodied in law. This ideal characterizes the Old Testament and indeed both Testaments. There is another infinitely precious conception which we owe to the same race, a conception expressed more fully in the New Testament, though not lacking in the Old, the purest and loftiest conception mankind has ever won of domestic love and

joy. Therefore, I say we owe to these Semitic peoples, the peoples from which come the three greatest religions of the modern world or of any age of the world, the greatest spiritual conceptions of all times."

With reference to the conception of the deity which came from the Jewish race, or through it as an inspiration, John Fiske says: "The conception of Jehovah set forth in the writings of the prophets was the loftiest conception of deity anywhere attained before the time of Christ. In ethical value it immeasurably surpassed anything to be found in the pantheon of the Greeks and Romans."

XIX: National Duty Unmistakable

IN ACCUSTOMED terseness, President Eliot epitomizes as essential to our times "a wise public opinion." Sinister agitations are ill defined. Their activity, aggressiveness, intellectual perversions, motivate movements not measurable by standards which we here have hitherto accepted as established. Rabid preachments at the street curbs, the snaky sapiences of new-light literature, grotesque night-riding revivals, are significant, it may be, of nothing effectively, lastingly dangerous—impudent impotencies, perhaps, at worst. Such vulgarities pass.

What more urgently challenges perturbation, a genuine peril, may be apprehended from practitioners of piratical politics.

America generations ago had her spasm of Know-Nothing. Is it possible to install repetition of that hideousness? I cannot believe it of my countrymen. Yet flagrant is the evidence that amongst us are some whose ambitions veer that way—some who diligently contrive evil propaganda in the very name of Nationalism. Praters of 100 per cent Americanism, they parade the monitory role: they shudder at the forwardness of Semitism, they exploit chimeras of imperilled Christian institutions. Affectations so various they exalt that casual observation may rate their lubrications as but ridiculous. That would be careless conclusion.

Operating is a program which is sordid, which is calculated, which coordinates with powerful resources. Patriotism is preached. Shamefully different is object aimed at.

It has been in grave reluctance, with sense of civic humiliation, that I have been brought to realization of facts—the nearness of menaces—thrusting upon us unmistakable national duty.

I have striven hard to preserve optimistic vision. But

from others, patriotically enkindled, recognizing that "a new and dangerous spirit" is being introduced into our national political life, there has issued an epochal address to America, signed by a host of notable "citizens of Gentile birth and Christian faith," setting forth anxieties over vindictiveness "designed to foster distrust and suspicion of our fellow citizens of Jewish ancestry and faith—distrust and suspicion of their loyalty and patriotism."

John Spargo, author, publicist, non-Jew, was the initiator of this address; and "neither directly nor indirectly did any person of Jewish ancestry or faith, or any Jewish relationship have anything to do with its preparation or publication."

Outstanding names are on the roll—the foremost of the Nation—led by Woodrow Wilson, William H. Taft, William J. Bryan and Cardinal O'Connell, such a roster as has induced a qualified commentator to say: "Probably no similar document ever bore so distinguished an array of signatures."

"We call," say our Presidents Wilson and Taft and their eminent confreres, "in particular, we call upon all those who are molders of public opinion—the clergy and ministers of all Christian churches, publicists, teachers, editors and statesmen—to strike at this un-American and un-Christian agitation."

Solemn warning. Sacred summons.

Herewith—for its quality—I present that historic document in full, appending the names of scores of forthright signers—tokeners of a spirit that shall not pass:

The undersigned, citizens of Gentile birth and Christian faith, view with profound regret and disapproval the appearance in this country of what is apparently an organized campaign of anti-Semitism, conducted in close conformity to and cooperation

with similar campaigns in Europe. We regret exceedingly the publication of a number of books, pamphlets and newspaper articles designed to foster distrust and suspicion of our fellow-citizens of Jewish ancestry and faith—distrust and suspicion of their loyalty and their patriotism.

These publications, to which wide circulation is being given, are thus introducing into our national political life a new and dangerous spirit, one that is wholly at variance with our traditions and ideals and subversive of our system of government. American citizenship and American democracy are thus challenged and menaced. We protest against this organized campaign of prejudice and hatred, not only because of its manifest injustice to those against whom it is directed, but also, and especially, because we are convinced that it is wholly incompatible with loyal and intelligent American citizenship. The logical outcome of the success of such a campaign must necessarily be the division of our citizens along racial and religious lines, and, ultimately, the introduction of religious tests and qualifications to determine citizenship.

The loyalty and patriotism of our fellow citizens of the Jewish faith is equal to that of any part of our people, and requires no defense at our hands. From the foundation of this Republic down to the World War, men and women of Jewish ancestry and faith have taken an honorable part in building up this great nation and maintaining its prestige and honor among the nations of the world. There is not the slightest justification, therefore, for a campaign of anti-Semitism in this country.

Anti-Semitism is almost invariably associated with lawlessness and with brutality and injustice. It is also invariably found closely intertwined with other sinister forces, particularly those which are corrupt, reactionary and oppressive.

We believe it should not be left to men and women of Jewish faith to fight this evil, but that it is in a very special sense the duty of citizens who are not Jews by ancestry or faith. We therefore make earnest protest against this vicious propaganda, and call upon our fellow citizens of Gentile birth and Christian faith to unite their efforts to ours, to the end that it may be crushed. In particular, we call upon all those who are molders of public opinion—the clergy and ministers of all Christian churches, publicists, teachers, editors and statesmen—to strike at this un-Ameri-

Woodrow Wilson	Ernest Martin Hopkins
William Howard Taft	Frederic C. Howe
William Cardinal O'Connell	Henry C. Ide
Lyman Abbott	Inez Haynes Irwin
Jane Addams	Will Irwin
John G. Agar	George R. James
Newton D. Baker	David Starr Jordan
Ray Stannard Baker	William W. Keen
Charles A. Beard	Paul U. Kellogg
James M. Beck	William Sergeant Kendall
Bernard I. Bell	George Kennan
Arthur E. Bestor	Henry Churchill King
Albert J. Beveridge	Darwin P. Kingsley
Mabel T. Boardman	W. P. Ladd
Evangeline Booth	Ira Landrith
Benjamin Brewster	Franklin K. Lane
Chauncey B. Brewster	Robert Lansing
Jeffrey R. Brackett	Julia C. Lathrop
Horace J. Bridges	Ben B. Lindsley
Henry Bruere	Charles H. Levermore
William Jennings Bryan	Frederick Lynch
Nicholas Murray Butler	Edwin Markham
Bainbridge Colby	Mrs. Edwin Markham
Alice B. Coleman	Daniel Gregory Mason
George W. Coleman	Joseph Ernest McAfee
Paul D. Cravath	J. F. McElwain
George Creel	Raymond McFarland
Samuel McChord Crothers	E. T. Meredith
R. Fulton Cutting	Alexander R. Merriam
Olive Tilford Dargan	James F. Minturn
Clarence Darrow	John Moody
James R. Day	William Fellowes Morgan
Henry S. Dennison	Charles Clayton Morrison
W. E. B. Dubois	Philip Stafford Moxom
James Duncan	Joseph Fort Newton
Robert Erskine Ely	D. J. O'Connell
Charles P. Fagnani	Mary Boyle O'Reilly
W. H. P. Faunce	George Wharton Pepper
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Louis F. Post
Irving Fisher	Theodore Roosevelt
John Ford	Charles Edward Russell
Raymond B. Fosdick	Jacob Gould Schurman

Robert Frost	Vida D. Scudder
H. A. Garfield	Samuel Seabury
James R. Garfield	Thomas J. Shahan
Lindley M. Garrison	Charles M. Sheldon
John Palmer Gavit	Edwin E. Slosson
Herbert Adams Gibbons	Preston Slosson
Charles Dana Gibson	Robert E. Speer
Franklin H. Giddings	Charles Stelzle
Martin H. Glynn	Paul Moore Strayer
George Gray	Marion Talbot
Edward Everett Hale	Ida M. Tarbell
James Hartness	Harry F. Ward
Patrick J. Hayes	Everett P. Wheeler
John Grier Hibben	Gaylord S. White
Jesse H. Holmes	George W. Wickersham
John Haynes Holmes	Charles David Williams
Hamilton Holt	Charles Zueblin

John Spargo

If there is one particular in which the course of the American Commonwealth is clear it is that it should strive to incorporate into one harmonious whole the various races of which it is composed and that it should not tolerate the creation of a variety of social and political ghettos which shall enclose the different race groups. To do that would be to contrive against our own greatness and permanence as a state.

We have grave problems enough already without making our country the theatre of new race contentions. We should strive to allay the strife between the Saxon and the Celt, the Teuton and the Slav, the Gentile and the Jew, in order that we may really become one people, instead of lighting again the fire of Jewish proscription, and adding that to the other race contentions that distract us.

Those statesmen at Versailles who presumed to lay the foundations of a new world, in one respect took a long

leap backward into the past. They attempted to reconstruct the universe upon ethnological lines, and disregarded the long exercise of the forces of political gravitation and the slow historical evolution which had built up great states upon the ruins of the Roman Empire. At the same time that they impaired the cosmopolitan structure of nations, and aimed to make the lines of nations and races coincide with each other, they intensified the effect of political divisions among men and augmented the sharpness of the future clashings of nations by adding the antagonism of race. We must see to it that the American stage is set for no such drama . . . tragedy.

It is not easy of belief that an organized movement could be undertaken in America to stir up race hatred against our Jewish citizens. But some crass phases of reactions from high ideals that have obtruded since the World War almost any passing spasm is creditable . . . but for my own part I spurn utterly any pessimism that can foresee that the essential American standards of our past can ignobly change. In my mind, as in my heart, my America is no surrenderer!

The question of Americanism is by no means settled by the so simple a formula as that contained in the boast that one is "100 per cent American." One needs not ask whether there were any Americans in that mob in Illinois which during the World War seized an innocent and unarmed German and took his life. It was only a pack of commonplace cowards, who shamed our soldiers in the field and tarnished the name of America. Neither have those any trace of Americanism about them who, as members of a secret society of outlaws, will drag men from their homes at night and atrociously treat them.

There is no difficulty in denying the claim of Ameri-

canism to those who stir up hatred against any class of their fellow citizens by the publication of falsehoods and who resort to the polluted and corrupt tactics of revolutionary Russia.

So far as, specifically, the Jews are concerned they played a most important part in the discovery of this continent. They were honorably associated with our colonial development. Although few in number, they helped mightily to finance the Revolution; and they bore a brave part under Washington in arms. They have gained honorable distinction in every war in which the country has been engaged. In World War devotion they made a noble record, and established beyond all question their title to be known as patriotic Americans. They have been commended by our Presidents, every one, from Washington straight up to this day. They have formed a vital element in our country—always. We may expect from them in the future large contributions to our civilization.

The United States is the great nation of modern times which has established itself on the basis of equality. It has especially pointed the way to Europe for the emancipation of the Jews, and, however hindered its influence is bound eventually to prove worldwide . . . *if really there exists what men call "Civilization."*

The man today who attempts to restore the old order and to arouse a race hatred joins in a declaration of war against what is noble in our Nation's history.

LAYING GHOSTS OF IGNORANCE

ROBERT ALPHONZO TAFT: United States Senator, distinguished by activities of devotion to those principles and that good will which so shone in the career of his great father. Home State service, home State appreciation, have broadened into National service, National recognition—into a welcomed National leadership, clear-visioned, progressive, courageous.

How stirred, revolted, is his spirit by despotic iniquities abroad is witnessed by the protest he here registers . . . a forthrightness to tie to.

Laying Ghosts of Ignorance

BY

ROBERT A. TAFT

United States Senator

THIS IS A PECULIARLY appropriate time to republish the writings of Governor McCall on the "Patriotism of the American Jew." He has stated so clearly the magnificent part which the Jews have played in the history of the United States, and the danger of the completely illogical prejudices from time to time stirred up against the Jews in this country, that little of importance can be added.

But the danger is so great today, and anti-Semitism is being so deliberately fomented here, that I am glad to take part in any attempt to destroy this prejudice. Undoubtedly it has been revived by the anti-Semitic policy in Germany, and the outrages against the Jews under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. The propaganda here without question is financed in large part from Germany, but assisted by the same narrow racial prejudices here among our own people which have existed before and seem to exist in every country in the world. In America we have often had waves of racial prejudice, the Know Nothing movement, the Ku Klux Klan, and others. Heretofore they have always died out after sudden and temporary popularity, because our American soil has been unfriendly to the roots of any such prejudice, but the movement today seems more dangerous than usual, and demands a deliberate and organized opposition.

Anti-Semitism has always seemed to me completely and utterly unreasonable. The Jews in the United States are as much Americans as the people of any other race. Undoubtedly the prejudice must result from the fact that the Jewish race has maintained its existence as a separate race, largely because of the very persecution which has existed through the centuries. Human nature is such that where two races live together, prejudices are inevitably developed around the most minor differences in character, customs, and methods of thought. We saw in the World War that the American army could not serve long with Frenchmen or Englishmen, or any other race, without the development of differences and unfriendly criticism of that other race. Often these differences are based on language, but that cannot be fundamental because the Jews in this country talk the same English as anyone else. But there are always little things that give rise to unreasonable feeling. Perhaps the inevitable prejudice against a minority race has been increased by the very fact that the Jews are peculiarly intellectual, and have enjoyed, by reason of their ability and industry, a greater average success than others. We should certainly be ashamed of a prejudice based on any such condition.

We hear charges against the Jews of un-Americanism, and lack of sympathy with American ideals. There could not be a more complete answer to this than Governor McCall's story of the great patriotic part which the Jews have played in the history of the United States. There is hardly a man who reads this statement who has not Jewish friends, and hardly a man who will not testify that the Jews whom he knows are just as American as you and I, that they are as soundly grounded in American principles as the leaders of American government and business and intellectual life. They may tell you of Jewish communists whom they do not know, but of whom they have

heard. There is certainly no more reason to blame the Jews for the existence of Jewish communists than to blame Alf Landon for the fact that Earl Browder, communist leader in the United States, is a native American Kansan.

The Jews are among the very best of American citizens. They have been elevated to many of the most prominent positions in American business activity. They are extraordinarily active in charitable organizations. In fact, there is no doubt in my mind whatever that the Jews on an average give away a larger proportion of their income to help the more unfortunate members of society than the rest of us in the same financial situation. The governors of our two largest States, New York and Illinois, are Jews; a good sign incidentally that anti-Semitism has not made great headway as yet in the United States. In the field of music and the arts, the Jews are outstanding both as artists and as patrons. Their keen minds have made enormous contributions to science. There is hardly a field in which they have not played an honorable and important part. We would be infinitely poorer without them. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain meant a loss from which Spain has never wholly recovered. The driving of the Jew from Germany is going to do Germany itself much more harm than it is doing even to the unfortunate victims of that policy today.

It is interesting to consider whether the wave of anti-Semitism in Germany, and to some extent throughout the world, has not been stimulated by the nationalist philosophy on which the Treaty of Versailles was based. An attempt was made to separate each nation from every other nation, and give each nation a complete freedom from political control by men of other nationalities. We have seen now that this could not be done in Europe, and the attempt to do so has stirred up bitter national feeling.

which keeps Europe in a constant turmoil. It would have been better to recognize the common economic interest of people living near each other, and try to solve the problem of different races living together in peace and harmony.

We cannot separate races in the United States, and while we desire to make each of them completely American in their ideals and principles, it is not clear that they should be mixed or that they ever will be. Nations can live together in the same country, and our energy should be devoted to reducing the inevitable racial prejudice, and to promoting friendship and friendly intercourse between the different groups by emphasizing their common interest rather than their inevitable differences.

Nothing can be more un-American than anti-Semitism. The Declaration of Independence declares that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These rights, which the Declaration says cannot be taken away by any majority, or any government controlled by any majority, are as much the rights of every Jewish citizen as of every other citizen. The Constitution of the United States sets out in the Bill of Rights those rights which no government can alienate: freedom of speech, freedom to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures, freedom of religion, and the right to a fair, impartial trial. The very basis of our government is that every individual and every minority, no matter how small, shall have the same rights as the majority, and shall be free from oppression by the majority, no matter how great that majority is.

The inevitable goal of anti-Semites, whether they admit it or not, is to break down this protection, and have the government treat the Jews in a different manner from

other people; otherwise what is its purpose? But if these rights are broken down as to any minority, we face an end of American constitutional government. If we once create distinctions, and give to any class, group or race the right to oppress another class, group or race, we step from democracy to dictatorship. We may still have a rule of the majority, for a while, but it is no longer a rule of the whole people. The arbitrary power of the majority is soon seized by a group within that majority, and we revert inevitably to a condition in which an individual or a small group of individuals reign over the nation. If you can deprive a Jew of his rights, no Christian can be sure of long retaining any rights of his own. The deliberate stimulation of race or religious prejudice threatens the foundations of the republic.

It is not easy to combat a movement of this kind, but we can all do something. We can speak up whenever an opportunity arises to speak. When casual slurs are made at any Jew because of his race, we can resent them and demolish whatever arguments seem to be behind them. We can at least make intolerance unpopular among our own friends. We can publicly take a position against intolerance and its promoters. I believe that the growth of anti-Semitism will decline as it always has in the past because it is contrary to the genius of the American people, but it presents today a real danger to the republic, and the more each and every one of us does consciously to discourage it the faster it will fade away.

GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN

J. RAYMOND MURPHY, signally honored by call of World War comrades to topmost eminence in The American Legion, is of that spontaneous Western spirit which, once sure of what's right, is all for the forward march. Quick volunteer, he went valiantly through to Armistice culminations . . . as private of the ranks, as campaign executive, as battle distinctive. "For consummate administration" recorded one citation. "For heroism!", "For daring accomplishment!" were other registers.

None who rose to command held closer contacts with America's soldiery en masse; he knew them by kinship of thought, devotion, spontaneity. There is meaning, knowledge—and what a pride!—in his emphasis here of how he "came to know at first-hand of the heroism of a gallant host of men who were proud to be known as Jews . . . that five percent of our population who stood nobly and victoriously in defense of the other ninety-five percent."

Greater Love Hath No Man

BY
RAY MURPHY

Past National Commander American Legion

FOUR MILLION AMERICAN YOUTHS—and more—two decades ago (they were boys then) offered their lives in defense of the Constitution of the United States. They believed then, as they believe now, in the great Charter, and particularly in that elemental spirit of it which safeguards to every citizen the right to worship God as his conscience dictates—banishing forever that principle of the medieval dark ages which made racial prejudice a qualification for citizenship.

The primary reason I am offered the opportunity of writing this review is the fact that I was privileged to serve as National Commander of The American Legion, the greatest and largest organization of American veterans of the World War, and that, as one who was privileged to serve with infantry and machine gun units in America and in France during the World War, I came to know at first hand of the service, and to learn intimately of the heroism of a gallant host of men who were proud to be known as Jews.

As far as my commands were concerned I had under me neither Jew nor Gentile, Catholic or Protestant. They were Americans all, ready and willing to perform the highest duty of citizenship, whether to bare their breast to the foe that had challenged our existence as a free people, or to be prepared, if need be, to die in order that America and the democratic institutions we have erected under our form of government might survive.

One saw them come to the training camps, raw youths from farm and factory, boys from homes that did not know the meaning of want and boys from homes where want was no stranger. One saw them put aside opportunity and home, forsaking friends and loved ones, sweating through an intensive period of training which in itself, though necessary, was little short of brutal. With their fellow Americans they sailed overseas, risking all of the dangers of an ocean that swarmed with enemy submarines bent upon their destruction. With their fellow Americans they battled in defense of the country that had given them life and freedom. Many of them died, all of them met the sternest test of devoted citizenship. And from the lips of none, never once, did one hear a word of complaint or fear or regret—Jew, Gentile, Protestant or Catholic.

It occasions no surprise, therefore, that all Americans now resent—bitterly resent—the indecent, un-American, untruthful propaganda that has been, and is now being loosed in vain attempt to smear or belittle the service and sacrifice of any part of that five per cent of our population who stood nobly and victoriously in defense of the other ninety-five per cent. One need not raise his voice in defense of the American Jew in the World War. He needs no defense. History will ever speak for him in words that none may controvert.

Those who would bring alien philosophies into America aim at weakening the institutions of our American democracy, and if they succeed, which Heaven forbid! our form of government will be utterly destroyed. In its place there would be established a totalitarian government such as we now find in Russia and Germany, where class hatred, religious intolerance, and racial prejudice have destroyed the freedom of speech and wor-

ship and equality of opportunity which are so basically American.

Those who question the Americanism of the Jew in the World War may well learn a lesson in Americanism from him.

It is only human to forget, but as long as America is truly American, neither our country nor our people will fail to remember the part our Jewish boys played in that War. The gallantry of their service is written in the records of our government. Those written records may perish, but if time should ever dim the memory of that service in the hearts of the American people, there will yet remain a record that neither time nor tempest may destroy . . . the American cemeteries in France where, side by side—one beneath the Cross of Christianity, one beneath the Star of David, Gentile and Jew lie pillow'd in eternal glory.

In the autumn of 1937, The American Legion made a pilgrimage to France to dedicate The Battle Monument at Château Thierry, where American troops gloriously stayed the German march on Paris and turned the tide of war toward victory, and to visit the American cemeteries where comrades of more than twenty years ago are buried. It was my good fortune to be a member of that pilgrimage; and if any person doubts the service of the American Jew in the World War, that person should visit those cemeteries, and there come face to face with not only positive refutation of such doubt, but as well, a thrilling lesson in Americanism.

Let him who doubts go to Romagne, where thousands of American soldiers who fell in the campaign of the Meuse-Argonne, which swept over and beyond the site of the cemetery, are buried. The American Army's victory in that 40-day campaign brought Germany to her knees in surrender, and General Pershing has pronounced it the

greatest victory in the history of American arms. There—amid the Crosses—row on row—shines the Star of David, marking the hallowed sepulchers of American Jews who loved their country devotedly enough to die for it.

Let the would-be doubter go on to Serenges-et-Nesle and Fere-en-Tardenoise, where is the cemetery of the Oise-Aisne campaign, as beautiful a spot as you will find anywhere on this earth. It was there that the 77th Division, already a veteran of many major engagements, wrote such a record of gallantry as is unsurpassed in all-time history. Faced by the pick of the seasoned German army, the 77th Division penetrated deep into the enemy lines, driving the foe back across the strategic River Aisne. Casualties in that advance, one of the decisive blows of the War, were heavy. And those who may have forgotten, or perhaps were never informed, should be reminded that 40 per cent of the men of the 77th were Jews. So again it is not surprising that as one strolls amid the crosses in the lovely citadel of the martyred dead at Serenges-et-Nesle he observes among them in striking numbers the Star of David above the resting place of the Jewish boys who wore the uniform of their beloved America and for America had died.

Then let those who doubt or scoff travel on up the old Western Front a few miles to Belleau Wood, where the United States Marines covered themselves with glory as they stood resolutely across the path of the foe that was marching on Paris, literally unopposed. The French and British lines at Chemin des Dames had collapsed, the Allied forces were in flight, the road to Paris was wide open, and it seemed that the central powers would win the victory before America could throw her power into the scales. But there, in Belleau Wood and at Château Thiery, stood the United States Marines and a division

of combined regular Army and half-trained volunteer troops. They not only stopped the enemy in his tracks, but turned him back over the path he had traveled so swiftly, drove him beyond the point where he had crushed the Allied lines, and there he was held until the great army that was rushing from America could land and begin the march to glory.

It is fitting that on the slopes of Belleau Wood there should have been established one of the most beautiful of our overseas cemeteries, and that there we should have tenderly laid to rest within the ground where they had fallen the American boys who placed their lives on the altar of sacrifice for the common good of free mankind. And there, too, the Star of David finds fraternal comradeship amid the white crosses of American lads of other faiths, who served and died with their fellow soldiers of the Jewish faith.

Travel where you may through the American cemeteries in France,—at St. Mihiel, Thiacourt, Somme and Bony, and again at Suresnes, or up in Flanders Fields in Belgium, where the delicate poppies carpet the earth with their rich red blooms—and in the glistening white stones which rise above the flower-strewn mounds marking the sepulchers of American soldiers, you will read the same story. It is the story of the part our Jewish citizens played in the defense of our Nation, in the defense of a great principle which is dear to all mankind. One might well wish that every American citizen could visit those cemeteries. It is an experience that could not fail to kindle anew the fires of patriotism in the souls of all who see and read the lesson that is there irrevocably written, the lesson of highest devotion to duty and to country.

And finally, let those who doubt stand before the tomb of the unknown soldier in Arlington National Cemetery—and contemplate. Let their eyes pass on beyond that

tomb, and across the Potomac behold the beauty of the Lincoln Memorial; and on yet to the majestic shaft in memory of George Washington; and finally let their eyes come to rest upon the glistening dome of the Capitol of our America. Let them remember that he who sleeps within the tomb symbolizes all who served and died, and none but God may know whether he was Jew or Gentile. To a true American sufficient is the knowledge that he was an American. Let them remember that even as Washington established a Nation dedicated to the principle that all men are born equal, so Lincoln rescued it from sectional and racial prejudices. And let them, as they behold the beauty of our national Capitol, reverently thanking God, remember that the principles of Washington and Lincoln, are still secure. Let them not forget that we remain a free and liberty-loving people because American men, Jew and Gentile alike, were not afraid to die in defense of these rights.

Statistics sometimes are not interesting, because usually they are factual; but certainly they are consistent crusaders against inaccuracy. It is interesting in this case, therefore, to consider as briefly as the importance of the occasion will permit the statistics about the American Jew's participation in the World War. All will remember that the United States, by formal act of the Congress, declared war on April 6, 1917, and that on November 11, 1918, only 19 months later, the Armistice ended the most titanic conflict in all history to date. During that period the United States mobilized 4,355,000 men. This was 4.3 per cent of our total population at that time. Of the number mobilized, 250,000 were Jews, representing 5.7 per cent of the total mobilization. It seems unnecessary, in the face of these figures, to argue further that American Jews had their quota of men in uniform and on active

duty during the period of America's participation in the World War.

Some may say, however, that the Jews did not do their share of the fighting. Men who were in the service know, of course, that the notion that only those who went overseas took any risks, or are entitled to recognition as defenders of the country, is pure fiction. All obeyed orders, and every man who wore the uniform was in the service to die, if need be. That the war ended before all could be sent to France, and the battle front, is a testimonial to the bravery and the efficiency of the approximately fifty per cent who did get overseas. Most certainly it is not evidence of the unwillingness of the other half who awaited the call in vain. Any person who went through the intensive training period in our mobilization camps knows war-time preparation called for privations, and for strain beyond the imagination of the uninitiated. In addition, many men were held at home to serve in the espionage and intelligence units, risking their lives here in the home sector.

Regardless of all this, however, the casualty lists themselves tell the story of the American Jew's participation at the front. The United States lost 126,000 men, killed in action, died of wounds, or died in line of duty. This represents 2.9 per cent of the total number of men mobilized in the United States services. Of the 126,000 dead, 3,400 were Jews, or 2.7 per cent of the total fatalities. Such is the story of the bare figures, but behind them there is yet more to learn.

The number of Jews in the service was at least equal to, and possibly somewhat larger, than the proportion of Jews to the total United States population. While our country encouraged volunteers, it rightly felt that the most equitable and efficient means of raising troop quotas was by way of conscription. We know that there were

few exemptions by classes and none on the basis of race or color. Because farm workers in many instances were considered of more importance in producing food, and possibly because the draft system was easier to operate in the cities where population was concentrated, the urban sections produced proportionately larger numbers of conscripts. This meant, of course, a heavier call upon the Jewish population along with the other sections of our urban population than otherwise would have been necessary. It also is worthy of note that, according to available records, among the Jews who served approximately 35,000 volunteered. Of the 250,000 who were enlisted in the combat services, 190,000 went into the army, 25,000 in the navy, and 14,000 in the marine corps. The remaining 21,000 went into other branches.

Carrying the figures a step further, we learn from available statistics that 60 per cent of the men in the American Expeditionary Force overseas were in the infantry, artillery, cavalry, engineers, signal corps and aviation, which were the troops that made actual contact with the enemy. While the War Department does not segregate service statistics on racial or religious lines, and official figures therefore are not available, unofficial records which may be accepted as reasonably accurate show that 75 per cent of the Jews in the A.E.F. were in these combat services. These unofficial statistics show the following distribution of Jews among all the services of the army during the World War: infantry, 84,973; artillery, 14,980; cavalry, 3,223; engineers, 5,130; signal-aviation, 27,650; medical corps, 17,390; ordnance, 3,565; and quartermaster corps, 9,089. Thus the largest per cent was in the infantry, with signal-aviation, medical corps, artillery, quartermaster corps, engineers, ordnance and cavalry following in the order named.

Every man who went overseas knows that from the

moment his transport dropped the United States coast line below the horizon, until, if God spared him, he returned to his beloved country, he was ever within the presence of sudden death. Even Paris was reached by Germany's famous long range guns and to this day the scars of the dirigible raids remain in the lovely French capital. Nevertheless there remain some persons who persist in believing the fiction that somehow it was fun to be over in France, and that even life in the trenches was only slightly removed from the status of a picnic or outdoor health club. It is only fair to say in behalf of all the men who served in the A.E.F., whether they were Jews or Gentiles, that if they bore up under the strain of wartime conditions it was not because life was easy or removed from imminent danger, but because of that indomitable spirit of American youth which never says die, the spirit that contributed the balance of power that won the World War. So, if in this treatise emphasis has been placed upon the men in the combat services purely for the sake of answering questions that have been raised, it will be a gross mistake and a grave injustice for anyone to assume that it is meant to belittle the gallantry or the rich contribution of those who served in the so-called noncombatant services.

Probably it will come as a great surprise, if not a down-right shock, to those who have sought to belittle the service of the American Jew in the World War, to learn that 1,100 citations for valor were conferred on Jewish soldiers in the American army, not only by our own country but by the allied nations as well. In the whole history of our country, only a comparative handful of men have won the distinction of wearing the Congressional Medal of Honor. But six Jewish boys earned that most precious of all rewards for valor during the World War. In this connection it may be well to remember that the Congres-

sional Medal of Honor may be worn only by those who, in the words of the citation itself, have rendered heroic service "above and beyond the call of duty." The Distinguished Service Cross, which is awarded only for outstanding bravery under fire, was bestowed upon 150 Jews, and the comparable French Medaille Militaire upon four; while 174 received the Croix de Guerre. Of the 1,100 citations awarded American Jews in the United States forces, 723 were bestowed by the American command, 287 by France, 33 by Great Britain, and 46 by the other countries in the allied cause.

The six Jews who won the Congressional Medal of Honor were: Sergeant Sidney G. Gumpertz, 137th Infantry, 32nd Division; Gunnery Sergeant Charles F. Hoffman, 5th Regiment, United States Marines; Sergeant Philip C. Katz, 363rd Infantry, 91st Division; Sergeant Benjamin Kaufman, 308th Infantry, 77th Division; Corporal Samuel Sampler, 142nd Infantry, 36th Division; and Sergeant William Sawelson, 312 Infantry, 78th Division, who gave his life in performance of the deed that won him the decoration posthumously.

Sergeant Sawelson is an example of the kind of men of which America is justly proud. The day he met his death he was on an errand, not of destruction, but of mercy. His platoon had attacked, carried its objective, and shortly was caught in that constantly shifted area known as "No Man's Land," battered and pounded by a merciless enemy artillery barrage. In circumstances like that there is only one thing to do—leap into the nearest shell hole and pray and hope, until your own artillery moves up to silence those big guns beyond rifle range.

As Sawelson crouched in his shell hole, he heard a wounded comrade in another shell hole crying piteously for water. Sawelson might have ignored those repeated appeals, or he might even have sent one of the men

under him to take care of the pain-racked soldier in that other shell hole. But he did neither. Through a curtain of burning, bursting steel, he crawled in the open to the wounded man, gave him what water remained in his own canteen, and started back for more. There was a burst of machine gun fire, the whine of bullets—Sawelson lay dead in "No Man's Land." Yet, there are some who would tell you that the American Jew did not render service, that he sought to escape service, and that when he was forced into it he looked for the so-called easy berths.

Then there is the case of Sidney Gumpertz. An enemy machine gun nest, located on a strategic hillside, was holding up the American advance around a barrage. With two men of his platoon, Gumpertz went through that barrage toward the machine gun nest. His two comrades were killed by bursting shells. Alone, Gumpertz continued on his mission, leaped into the nest with a hand grenade, cowed the machine gunners, put the gun out of commission, and took nine prisoners back to the American lines with him. It was at Château Thierry that Sergeant Hoffman stepped into the select ranks of those who wear the Congressional Medal of Honor, capturing single handed an enemy detachment and five light machine guns. Sergeant Katz, learning that a member of his platoon had been left wounded in an exposed position, crawled through heavy machine gun fire to the side of the man and carried him back to safety. In the Argonne, Sergeant Kaufman, sent out with a detail to silence a machine gun nest, became separated from the patrol and, although badly wounded, carried out the mission alone, armed with a hand full of grenades and an empty pistol.

History will forever pay tribute to the gallantry of the men of the famous "Lost Battalion." That Battalion was from the 77th Division which, as has been pointed out

before, was 40 per cent Jewish. One after another, volunteers had attempted to get through the enemy line and bring relief to the beleaguered American soldiers, but bursts of enemy fire told the waiting members of the Battalion the fate of these gallant men. Finally the desperate commander asked for another volunteer and Abraham Krotoshinsky stepped forward. In order to reach cover he had to run some 50 yards in full view of the enemy. Krotoshinsky succeeded in getting through and brought to the American commanders the first complete story of the desperate plight of the men who were battling there in the woods, preferring death to surrender.

These are but a few of the outstanding and officially recognized stories of the heroism of American Jews in the World War. The data that is here presented in each case was obtained from the citation which accompanied the decorations. There is neither time nor space, nor does it seem necessary, to present the hundreds of others that could be told. The records of the War Department in Washington contain many stirring stories of the gallantry of Jewish boys in the American service overseas, and the Government's reward in the form of a medal or a cross which only a comparatively few of our citizens ever may have the right to wear. And it must not be forgotten that all of the cases of heroism in a great war as extensive as the last conflict cannot be observed, officially reported, and rewarded. Without any doubt there are hundreds of cases of Jews and Gentiles alike, in which American soldiers or sailors performed outstanding service beyond the call of duty, but which in the heat and stress of battle were overlooked. Indeed, to this day, the Army officials are still examining records of the World War and are finding examples which even at so late a time deserve official recognition.

One might write almost interminably on the subject

matter of this chapter. It goes deeply, into the very heart and soul of our form of government, ignoring alike the mandates of our Constitution, the laws of our Congress, the decrees of our courts, and the rich wisdom of experience which tells us that we have become a great and powerful people, living in a Nation endowed by blessings that are enjoyed by no other people on earth, because when we laid the foundations of government we built them upon the rock of tolerance and we made them of the sturdy materials of freedom, liberty, and equality. As Americans protecting and defending (as ever we must if we are to leave them for posterity unblemished as we received them) the institutions of our true democracy we must combat with fact and logic the un-American fiction of those who seek to bring into our midst the racial prejudices and dictatorships of whatever origin.

One might ask the authors of such propaganda a few pertinent questions: When the World War was declared, would they have been willing to say that no Jew should be permitted to serve his country, and would they be willing to say that the people of his race and religion will not be called upon again for sacrifice if we should be forced into another test of arms? Can they deny in the face of facts here presented that the slanders that have been hurled upon a recognized segment of our population were born in bigotry and reared in un-Americanism? Can they who would slander, if they could, even the dead who gave their lives for that which they would now destroy through deceit and falsehood, show a record even comparable to these men who offered life's most precious gift—life itself—because they loved the land that had given them security and hope and freedom? The answer to all of these questions is so obvious that the words need never be formed. Any persons who would attack the record of men who served in the World War, be they

Jew, Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, are beneath the contempt of real Americans. They have dragged in the dust of fanatical hate the flag of our country. They are not Americans, they have no spark of Americanism within their benighted souls. They may preach love of country, but the country of which they are thinking is one reared upon the quicksand and the mire of prejudice, dictatorship, and slavery.

The men who served in the World War knew each other neither as Jew nor Gentile. The Harrigans and the Cabots and the Budweisers and the Kloticks and the Cohens and all of the rest of them served together, and if the call came they died together. Yes, they even worshiped together. We have not infrequently heard of a Catholic priest administering to a dying Jewish boy whose Rabbi, then engaged in another task of mercy, was not within reach, nor was it uncommon for a Rabbi to whisper comforting words into the ear of a Protestant or a Catholic boy who was slipping fast into the great unknown eternity. One became accustomed at Mass behind the lines to see Jew and Protestant along with the Catholics, nor was it wholly unusual to see Catholic boys and Protestant at services presided over by a Rabbi. War, the great destroyer, can also bring tolerance and a great understanding to men who serve together.

No one segment of our population received nor requested favoritism during the conflict of 1917-1918; in proportion to their quota of the total population all served equally and gallantly, true to the highest traditions of our American Democracy.

He does no service to America who challenges that statement. Let him who does, remember that intolerance begets intolerance, that we would have no United States had it not been that minorities fought for and established

principles that must be deathless, if America is to endure the principles of the Bill of Rights—principles which are vital only because they give to all, majority and minority, without respect to race, class, or creed, equal duties and equal rights.

A START IN GOOD WILL

EVERETT R. CLINCHY, scholar and humanitarian, has distinctivity among those of leadership in comprehending and comprehensive activity in forwarding inter-denominational and interracial understanding and fellowship . . . his policies, carefully formulated in cooperation with Newton D. Baker, and their execution through The National Conference of Christians and Jews having the confidence—the sponsorship—of citizens of the representative rank of Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, Roger Williams Straus, James W. Gerard, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes.

A Start in Good Will

BY

EVERETT R. CLINCHY

Director National Conference, Christians and Jews

OVER TEN YEARS the National Conference of Christians and Jews has labored in the vineyard of Better Understanding. To know others, to learn to respect them for their differences, and to work with them along parallel lines—that has been the message of the Conference, that has been our prescription for better Americanism.

The Good Will Movement in America had its genesis in the early 1920s when racial intolerance reared its ugly head in such manifestations as the revived Ku Klux Klan and publication attacks on the Jews. It is to the credit of church leaders that they early recognized the dangers of religious discrimination; and so in 1920 the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities, a largely Protestant church group, issued the first declaration of religious freedom in this country since the American Constitution when it made public a manifesto appealing "to all people of good will to condemn every effort to arouse decisive passions against any of our fellow countrymen."

Shortly thereafter the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America appointed a committee on Good Will. The first official body charged with the perpetuation of religious liberty for all groups, this representative of the dominant Protestant group in this country, gave the initial impetus to the good will movement. It thus proceeded along internal denominational lines until 1928 when the National Conference was organized, following a call issued

by Dr. S. Parkes Cadman and Charles Evans Hughes. The late Newton D. Baker, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University and Roger Williams Straus accepted the co-chairmanship of the new group, under whose direction I have served as director.

At the time of its formation, Mr. Baker announced the purpose of the organization in the following sentence:

"The National Conference associates a number of thoughtful and earnest people in an effort to analyze, to moderate, and finally to eliminate a system of prejudice which we have in part inherited and which disfigures and distorts our business, social and political relations."

And, ten years later, as he enters in his new work as the successor to Mr. Baker, Dr. Arthur H. Compton of the University of Chicago, a Nobel Prize Winner in science, says:

"Only when an organism finds itself adequately adapted to its environment can it survive. We have in our country many groups differing in religion. Only in so far as these groups are properly adjusted to each other can we hope to become a nation of people living harmoniously together. Among Catholics, Jews and Protestants there are many differences, but there are also many things in common. In particular all are concerned with an approach to life in which human and spiritual values are predominant. In the belief that by better understanding we can work more effectively together for the welfare of our community and the world, the National Conference has a task to perform that is fundamental to the nation's life."

We believed ten years ago, that if reasonable and intelligent Christians and Jews could meet at a friendly round table they would remove many of the prejudices, trivial in truth but sometimes enormous in consequences. Now, a decade later, we are gratified by changed attitudes and

by the willingness of Protestants, Catholics and Jews to confer. This is new in history. American Catholics, Jews and Protestants have met at round tables no less than twenty-five thousand times since 1928.

Our seminars, our round tables, our institutes have become a part of the American tradition, a logical twentieth century expression of the very old American institution—the country store cracker-barrel discussion. To be sure, the wisest counsel of present day educators and social scientists devised the program. Nevertheless they were kept as simple, democratic, unofficial and practical as the rural cracker-barrel.

What has happened is that we have enlarged the circle in our parlor and invited into it persons with whom we previously would have had very little social contact. Without compromising doctrines one whit; without worshipping together; without ever accepting the fatuous idea that "one religion is as good as another" (which is no more true about one's religion than one's mother) Protestants, Catholics and Jews are meeting from time to time as citizens who believe in God, who want to safeguard religious liberty, and who desire to build a civilization marked by justice, peace and love on earth.

That this accomplishment of the National Conference may seem insignificant to some is, we think, an affirmation of our success for we have created the habit of inter-faith cooperation so that now it is an accepted fact no longer worthy of particular note. But it must be remembered that never before in history over such a span of time and territory have Protestants, Catholics and Jews done this thing. The history of Russia, Germany, Italy, Spain and Mexico this past quarter century would have been vastly different if religious divisions had developed similar community processes.

Its staunchest advocates declare that the National Con-

ference is an insurance against dictatorship, a sort of vaccination against the virus of hate that emanates from Germany and other lands where religion is limited and democracy denied. Not everyone believes, as do its best friends, that it is one of the first lines of defense, a bulwark of strength that spells the answer: It Won't Happen Here. But there is none to deny, even among the cynical disbelievers in the efficacy of education as a medium for the creation of better understanding between the faiths, that its purpose is high and its aspirations lofty.

Our work during the first few years may be described as experimental but by now we have achieved a tentative scientific formula for better human relations. In outline I would define it in the following manner:

First, the various groups, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant, making up the community, must communicate their aims and ideas to all the members of every other group. Common understanding is necessary for acquaintance and mutual trust.

Second, while groups may worship separately, continue their unique traditions, and enjoy their own associations as in a family, all groups must become aware of the fact that all have some aims in common. This is the reason we live together in a "community." Here lies the basis for American patriotism.

Third, those mutual aims of American Catholics, Jews and Protestants must be carried into action. In a democratic society all groups must cooperate on common tasks. Illustrations of these tasks are mobilization of religious forces to achieve social and economic justice; to educate for world peace; to deal intelligently with delinquency and crime; to educate for temperance; to cultivate standards of taste in music, architecture, literature, art and the theater.

If any one of the three community processes stops, a democratic society falls to pieces.

That, in brief, is the philosophy of the Round Tables of the National Conference for Christians and Jews. It is not suggesting religious uniformity. The American Way is *E Pluribus Unum!* It is not asking any believer to give up any loyalty nor to water down any doctrine. It is not comparing one religion with another.

Moreover, the National Conference does not promise Utopia. Conflict on important ideas will be forever with us. Missionaries of Catholicism, of Protestant Christianity, of Zionistic Judaism have the right to plead their causes. One is bound to plead for that which one believes to be true, and just, and beautiful. The conference insists only upon civilized rules of good sportsmanship in the inescapable conflicts of human relations; it suggests the reasonableness of cooperation in the task of building a better society than communism and fascism can promise.

In the fostering of its aims, the National Conference has sponsored two national Institutes of Human Relations at Williamstown; five sectional Institutes, miniature Williamstown Institutes; the round table meetings in every state in the Union; touring good will trios of a priest, a rabbi and a minister.

Perhaps best known of all the Conference's activities are its good will trios. These pilgrimage teams, inaugurated four years ago, have succeeded in dramatizing the message of the Conference as has no other single factor. The three members informally discuss the subject of inter-faith relations in realistic terms. Theirs is no saccharine love feast of mutual praise; rather it is a serious probing of the problems and sore spots of inter-faith relations. By bringing up for serious discussion all the hates and prejudices that have long lain smoldering in the

minds and hearts of Protestants, Catholics and Jews, the good will trios seek to interpret Jews to Christians, Catholics to Protestants, and Christians to Jews. During a single year twenty-five such teams have covered approximately 35,000 miles in addressing approximately half a million persons in high schools, Sunday schools, Service Clubs, Women's societies and civic assemblies.

Following visits by the good will trios, the local communities are asked to establish permanent Round Table groups. There are, in the country, about one hundred of such groups. Local National Conference committees similarly operate for special occasions such as Brotherhood Day in about two thousand American communities.

The educational program is being augmented by more intensive work in the colleges—a start being made in the creation of round tables on the six hundred college campuses of the country. Yale has conducted such a Round Table for five years. Seminars have also been conducted at Smith, New York University, Syracuse, Cornell, California, Wesleyan, Ohio State, Johns Hopkins, Wisconsin and scores of others . . . the National Conference accepting an invitation from the Commissioner of Education in Massachusetts to deliver the Todd Lectureship addresses in the ten normal colleges of the state. Seventy-five other normal schools and teachers colleges throughout the country are being provided with good will programs.

By striving for more perfect inter-faith relations we of the National Conference believe that we are indicating the ways towards the preservation of Religious Liberty and Democracy. We believe that the period of totalitarian states eventually will draw to a close; that dictatorships, those resurgent vestigial remains of tribalism, may possibly disappear from history with the passing of the twentieth century.

“IN THE INTEREST OF RIGHT”

—HENRY FORD

In the Interest of Right

BY

HENRY FORD

To my great regret I learn that in "The Dearborn Independent" and in reprint pamphlets entitled "The International Jew," publications owned by me, there have appeared articles which induce the Jews to regard me as their enemy, promoting anti-Semitism which trusted friends assure me justifies righteous indignation, because of the mental anguish occasioned by the unprovoked reflections.

It goes without saying that in the multitude of my activities it has been impossible for me to devote personal attention to their management or to keep informed as to their contents.

I am deeply mortified that this journal, which is intended to be constructive and not destructive, has been made the medium for resurrecting exploded fictions, and for laying at the door of the Jews many offences.

Had I appreciated even the general nature, to say nothing of the details, of these utterances, I would have forbidden their circulation without a moment's hesitation, because I am fully aware of the virtues of the Jewish people as a whole, of what they and their ancestors have done for civilization and for mankind and toward the development of commerce and industry, of their sobriety and diligence, their benevolence and their unselfish interest in the public welfare.

This statement is made on my own initiative and wholly in the interest of right and justice and in accordance with what I regard as my solemn duty as a man and as a citizen.

HENRY FORD.

* From a volunteered open letter.

CARRYING ON FOR AMERICA

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE, since his admission to the Bar in 1891, has been an outstanding civic leader. After training at the Universities of North Carolina and Virginia, he had an opportunity, for five years, in the District Attorney's office in New York City, to study people closely, and emerged a champion of human rights. A law practice of a most intense and important nature does not hinder him from devoting commanding talents to humanitarian causes, the the latest of which—expressive of his ideal of universal tolerance, caused him to become co-chairman with William Allen White and W. Warren Barbour of the Council Against Intolerance in America.

Carrying On For America

BY

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE

Co-Chairman of the Council Against Intolerance in America

GOVERNOR McCALL TRACES THE HISTORY of Jews in this country from the earliest beginnings of settlement by Europeans to modern times. The example of their forebears in becoming part and parcel of the American scene, and their eminence in various component parts of the life of the American people has been ably continued, not only by the descendants of the earlier Jewish settlers, but also by those more recently arrived and their descendants.

The opportunity afforded all our people to participate in all our national activities has resulted in great rewards to the whole people. Each section of the population has nobly shouldered the burden. American citizens of Jewish faith have participated in their devotions side by side with their compatriots. They have been and are in Presidential Cabinets (Oscar Straus and Henry Morgenthau, Jr.) ; they have sat and now sit in Congress, Legislatures and Courts; they have been and are now Governors of States; they have been and are now in the diplomatic service as Ambassadors to France (Jesse Isidor Straus) ; to Cuba (Harry F. Guggenheim) ; to Russia (Laurence A. Steinhardt) ; to Turkey (Henry Morgenthau, Sr., and Oscar Straus) ; as Ministers to Albania (Herman Bernstein) ; to Czechoslovakia (Lewis Einstein and A. C. Ratshesky) ; to Siam (David E. Kaufman) ; to Persia (Joseph S. Kornfeld) ; to Sweden (Ira N. Morris) ; to Costa Rica (Leo R. Sack). Bernard M.

Baruch was a member of President Wilson's Advisory Committee of the Council of National Defense and Chairman of the War Industries Board; Robert Moses, Park Commissioner of New York City, and head of Parkway and Bridge Authorities, was awarded medals by Hundred Year Club, American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society and Columbia University; James Speyer is Trustee and Treasurer of the American Museum of Safety; he is donor of the Museum of the City of New York; Nathan Straus is Administrator of the United States Housing Authority.

Among their contemporaries in letters there shine out the names of Maxwell Bodenheim, James Oppenheim, Louis Untermeyer, Dorothy Parker, Babette Deutsch, Fannie Hurst, Edna Ferber, Ben Hecht, Isaac Marcosson, Walter Lippmann, David Lawrence, Simeon Strunsky, Michael Gold, Walter Winchell, Mark Hellinger, George Jean Nathan, Clifton Fadiman and Franklin P. Adams.

David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America, has been decorated for public service invaluable to the community. William S. Paley is President of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

In music, art, the theatre and cinema, these names spell out a chain of public service to the country far transcending mere histrionic ability; Mischa Elman, Jascha Heifetz, Efrem Zimbalist, Yehudi Menuhin, Leopold Godowsky, Eddie Cantor, Irving Berlin, George Gershwin, Edwin Franko Goldman, Elmer Rice, George S. Kaufman, Samuel N. Behrman, Adolph Zukor, Harry M. Warner, Major Albert Warner, Louis B. Mayer, Nicholas M. and Joseph M. Schenck and David Bernstein; Oscar Hammerstein, Ernest Bloch, awarded prize by Musical America for the best symphonic work composed by an American; Rubin Goldmark, member of the

faculty of Juilliard Foundation; Max Rabinoff, organizer of Chicago Philharmonic, Boston Grand Opera Company and American Institute of Operatic and Allied Arts. Among the leaders and conductors are Ossip Gabrilowitsch, Detroit Symphonic Orchestra; Modest Altschuler, Russian Symphony in United States; Artur Bodanzky, Wagnerian Opera at the Metropolitan; Giogo Polacco, Chicago Civic Opera; Fritz Reiner, Cincinnati Symphony; Vladimir Shavitch, Syracuse Symphony; Nikolai Sokoloff, Cleveland Symphony; Josef A. Pasternack, Philadelphia Philharmonic; Louis Hasselman, French Repertory at the Metropolitan; Alfred Hertz, San Francisco Symphony.

The list is very long and I do not attempt to suggest anything but an outline.

Indeed, in the fields of science and medicine I name only a very few: Simon Flexner, director of laboratories at the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Studies; Karl Landsteiner, winner of the Nobel Prize for discovery of human blood groups; Joseph Goldberger, credited with having discovered the cause and cure of pellagra; Harry Plotz, discoverer of combative factor against typhus; Milton Rosenau, professor of preventive medicine at Harvard; Lafayette B. Mendel, professor of Physiological Chemistry at Yale, Member of the National Academy of Sciences for research in chemistry of digestion, metabolism and nutrition; Béla Schick, discoverer of diphtheria test (Schick test) now universally used; Albert Abraham Michelson, former President of the National Academy of Sciences, professor of Physics, University of Chicago; Franz Boas, professor Anthropology Columbia University.

As publishers I name only Arthur Hays Sulzberger, New York Times; Eugene Meyer, Washington Post; Julius David Stern, New York Post and Philadelphia

Record; K. P. Adler, Davenport Times, Democrat and Leader.

In business and finance: Leopold E. Block, chairman of the board of the Inland Steel Company; Simon Guggenheim, United States Senator from Colorado, President of the American Smelting and Refining Company; Gerard Swope, president of the General Electric Company; member of Industrial Advisory Board, First National Labor Board, and Advisory Council on Economic Security; Lessing J. Rosenwald, chairman, Sears, Roebuck and Company; Percy S. Straus, president of R. H. Macy & Company; Samuel Zemurray, managing director of the United Fruit Company; Robert Lehman, president of Lehman Brothers.

In religion: Stephen S. Wise stands out not only as a great rabbi and Jewish teacher, but is a powerful force for civic righteousness and an expression of the conscience of America at its best.

In education: Edwin R. A. Seligman, professor of political economy, Columbia University; James Marshall, president of the New York City Board of Education; Morris R. Cohen, professor of philosophy and co-author Cambridge History of American Literature.

The latest annual report of the Jewish Agricultural Society shows that the society has record of over 100,000 Jews living on and working farms in forty-one states of the Union. Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (now Secretary of the Treasury), organized and headed the United States Farm Credit Administration, organizing the agricultural credit system now in force; David Lubin founded the International Agricultural Institute; Jacob Joseph Taubenhaus was Chief of division of plant pathology and physiology, Texas; Dr. Jacob Goodale Lipman was Dean of the School of Agriculture in Rutgers, President First International Congress of Soil Scientists, received the

Chandler medal, Columbia University; Charles B. Lipman, plant physiologist; Myer Edward Jaffa, Professor Emeritus plant bacteriology, University of California, popularized drinking of fruit juices; Max Levine, bacteriologist, Iowa Experimental Station.

And finally, it is in the field of philanthropy that the full measure of social service is poured out, copiously giving back to the whole people for generations here and to come the fruits of their labor, not for narrow sectarian purposes, but to all the people: Daniel Guggenheim established School of Aeronautics at New York University, founded Daniel Guggenheim fund for the promotion of aeronautics to which he contributed the sum of \$4,000,000, established the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation, free concerts in Central Park, New York City; Adolph Lewisohn donated School of Mines (\$300,000) at Columbia University, gave Lewisohn Stadium to the College of the City of New York; Felix M. Warburg made large contributions to many educational institutions including the Henry Street Settlement with its visiting nurse service (founded by the justly celebrated and beloved Lillian D. Wald), Columbia University, the American Museum of Natural History, the American Federation for the Blind and the New York Association for the Blind; Julius Rosenwald's gifts for the promotion of human welfare are said to have totaled \$62,000,000, outstanding work for the promotion of Negro education and welfare in the South where he created the Rosenwald Foundation; Nathan Straus established a system for the distribution of pasteurized milk among the poor, since 1914 made annual contributions to various welfare funds which exceeded his own actual income: Jacob H. Schiff financed the Semitics Department of the New York Public Library, presented the Deinard Collection to the National Library in Washington, endowed a Semitics

Museum for Harvard, gave \$500,000 for a students' hall at Barnard College, Columbia, gave generously to the Salvation Army and the Ethical Culture Society, financed in part Ehrlich's experiments; Lucius Nathan Littauer, donor of \$1,100,000 to be administered in the cause of better understanding among all mankind, donor of over \$2,000,000 to Harvard University for establishment of graduate school of public administration; Ralph Jonas founded Long Island University in Brooklyn with a gift of \$500,000, contributed to Adelphi College, Brooklyn College of Pharmacy, Institute of Arts and Sciences; Albert D. Lasker gave millions of dollars to University of Chicago and other institutions for cancer research; George Blumenthal, financier, philanthropist, patron of the fine arts and at the present time President of Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

The names of the men I have mentioned will be found eminent not only in their chosen fields of endeavor but each one of them will be found written large in communal work for the benefit, not only of his co-religionists and of his local, state and national Governments, but in non-sectarian activities "For the Honor of the Nation."

THE WHITE HOUSE

Where is need for human
helpfulness, call for
patriot loyalty, there
always and early is the
American Jew . . . serv-
ing.

HERBERT HOOVER

For devotion in peace,
for devotion in war,
Jewish citizenship --
as I know it -- is a
shining example to all
the world.

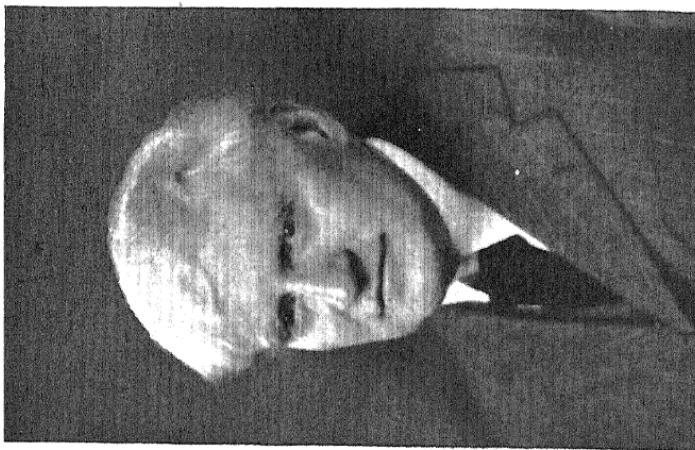
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

1916-1939

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES



BENJAMIN N. CARDZOZO

1932-1938



FELIX FRANKFURTER

1939-

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES



BROTHER GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK GREET THEIR ELECTED SUCCESSOR